# Sir John Tenniel : a study of his development as an artist, with particular reference to the Book Illustrations and Political Cartoons.

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to trace Sir John Tenniel's development as an artist, both in terms of the many book illustrations he contributed to a variety of literary genres, and in his numerous political cartoons for Punch magazine.

It begins with a biographical section, which aims to place Tenniel in an historical context as an artist in Victorian Britain. This is followed by an analysis of critical assessments of Tenniel's work, beginning with some of his late-nineteenth-century contemporaries, and working through to some more recent, twentieth-century views; the purpose of this is to show how critics have rarely given a balanced view of Tenniel's achievement, either from a tendency to repeat uncritically previous writers' assessments, or because they were focussing on only an isolated area of this prolific artist's work.

The main body of the thesis is a more or less chronological examination of Tenniel's work, focussing on a variety of styles or media: Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, Orientalism, and Children's Literature. Where appropriate, parallels are drawn between the book illustrations and the political cartoons, showing how the two media were not entirely self-contained, but rather how they influenced and informed each other throughout Tenniel's long career.

The final section examines Tenniel's later work, and discusses his lasting influence as a children's illustrator and political cartoonist.

In addition to its examination of pictorial links between the book illustrations and political cartoons, this thesis seeks to offer a comprehensive analysis of Tenniel's work, and thereby a balanced assessment of his achievement as an artist.

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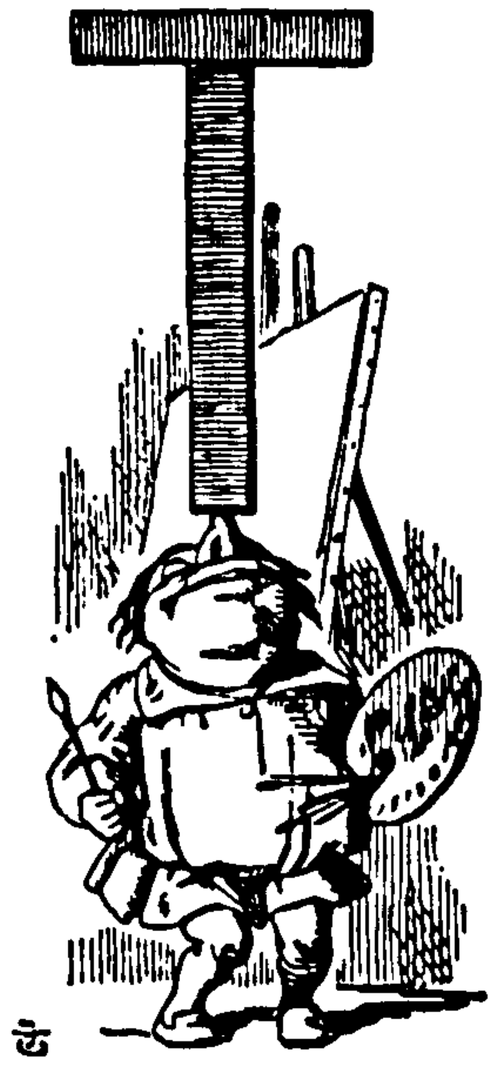

FOR ILLUSTRATIONS SEE VOLUME II

## INTRODUCTION

SIR JOHN TENNIEL, artist, political cartoonist and book illustrator, is the subject of this study. During his long life he exhibited paintings, produced a weekly cartoon practically without a break for almost fifty years, and contributed a large number of illustrations to literature during one of the most fruitful and innovative periods of the medium's history.

Tenniel is a rewarding choice for a number of reasons. His life (1820-1914) covers the whole of Victoria's reign, with generous overlaps into the preceding Georgian and succeeding Edwardian eras. As both artist and observer he was involved in the mainstream art world of his day, beginning his career with serious ambitions as a monumental fresco painter, and exhibiting at the Royal Academy and at the Society of British Artists' premises in Suffolk Street. His working life, from the year of his first exhibition to the date of his retirement from Punch, stretches from 1835 to 1901, while his activities in book illustration took place between 1842 and 1878, one of the most fruitful and innovative periods for that art form. Finally, while his work on Punch (1850-1901) diverted his energies from his early 'high art' aspirations, it brought him into week-by-week journalistic contact with the social and political life of his day, and made him one of the most influential commentators on it.

Tenniel was the epitome of the respectable, conservatively-minded Victorian gentleman and sportsman, popular with his friends and colleagues, although somewhat reserved in manner. It

is for this latter reason that he is a somewhat shadowy figure: unlike many Victorians, he left few papers, and does not appear to have kept a diary. Just as Tenniel the man is hard to pin down, so, because of his wide range of styles and subjects, Tenniel the artist is equally hard to categorise: a problem that has led to a number of over-simplifications, misconceptions and distortions. In fact, Tenniel was a chameleon-like artist, adapting himself in a seemingly effortless manner to his subject and medium; he is thus a true representative of the eclectic Victorian period in which he lived.

This thesis is an attempt to reassess Teniel's work, both on its own terms and within an historical, literary and artistic context, with a view to achieving a new perspective on his contribution to Victorian art, and clearing away the myths that have surrounded him in recent years.

Biography

Tenniel was born on 28 February 1820 in Kensington, London. His Huguenot father, John Baptist Tenniel, was maître d'armes at the famous Angelo School of fencing in Bond Street.[1] This Huguenot background no doubt made Tenniel sympathetic towards the general Protestant atmosphere of his adopted country; he was the epitome of the respectable, conservatively-minded Victorian gentleman and sportsman, well liked and well loved by his friends and colleagues. Like some others (George du Maurier, for example) whose background was not entirely English, he conformed in every way to the British way of life, seeming, in Frances Sarzano's words, more English than the English.[2]

Compared with many of his contemporaries, relatively little is known about Tenniel's life: he was reserved in manner, even with his closest friends; he appears not to have kept a diary, nor did he treasure up letters from the writers and publishers with whom he dealt. He disliked being interviewed, and made only one exception in later life to Marion Spielmann, in the latter's research as the first historian of Punch.

Tenniel's apparent or assumed lack of interest in his own work may be gauged from a self-effacing note to Frederic Kitton, written nearly fifty years after his illustrations to Dickens' The Haunted Man (1848), and well over twenty years after the author's death:

> My 'artistic association' with Charles Dickens began and ended simply with my poor little contributions towards the illustration of 'The Haunted Man.' There was no written correspondence between us that I can remember, and I believe I had but one interview with Dickens on the subject, when he gave me certain hints as to treatment, &c. &c. &c. Only that, and nothing more!
>
> As to what became of the original sketches I have not the remotest idea; probably I gave them away - or, more probably still, they were one day consigned to the waste-paper basket. At all events, and after an interval of about forty-five years, it is perhaps scarcely surprising that I should have long since forgotten all about them.[3]

Consequently, the few details that are known of Tenniel's life relate mainly to his career as an artist. As far as is known, Tenniel was the only artist in his family. His early talent for drawing found encouragement in his visits to the home of the painter, John Martin (1789-1854), whose children were friends and contemporaries of his.[4] Together with his two brothers and three

sisters, Tenniel passed many happy hours there; part of the time was spent by the friends in sketching each other: a pencil drawing of Leopold Martin by Tenniel, dated 1837, shows the subject sitting in half profile, reading a book.[5] Leopold was an artist in his own right, as well as an engraver and writer of books on costume and coins, while his younger brother, Charles, became a portrait-painter. It was Leopold who married one of Tenniel's sisters in about 1844.

This friendship with the Martins was in many ways a fortuitous one. The father alone must have been an inspiring presence: his canvases and mezzotints of biblical subjects combine a classical treatment of the human form with vast and often turbulent natural surroundings. With the Martins, Tenniel sought to perfect his knowledge of the human form by attending hospital anatomy lectures, while his sketching of sculptures at the British Museum - a common method of self-training at this time - gave him a solid foundation in the classical tradition. At the same time, in keeping with the Victorian enthusiasm for historical accuracy, he studied costume and armour in the Museum's reading and print rooms.

Tenniel received no formal art training, apart from a few lessons at the Royal Academy Schools. These he left in dissatisfaction, perhaps at the lack of individual attention, the erratic flow of visiting senior academicians or, more likely, the drudgery of having to spend at least one year copying from classical casts before being allowed to progress to the living model.[6] But despite his short stay the strong classical, 'high

art' tradition with its simplicity, purity and orderliness was to hold a firm place in his work throughout his long career. It was a particularly effective style for some of his more serious political cartoons, resulting most obviously in his statuesque female figures. On the other hand he was also attracted by the natural warmth, flourishing organicism and incompleteness of romanticism, drawing medieval and ballad subjects in the gothic style, often under the influence of German page decoration.

The vogue for history painting was also influential. Tenniel combined his costume studies with a fascination for the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, who exerted a strong romantic influence on many Victorian artists. In 1835, at the age of fifteen, Tenniel made his first public appearance at the Society of British Artists' Suffolk Street Gallery with a watercolour, The Bride of Lammermoor;[7] the following year he exhibited another Scott subject, Harry Gow and the Fair Maid of Perth, while his medieval-romantic painting The Minstrel was bought by the Irish actor Tyrone Power. In 1837, besides three more watercolours at Suffolk Street, Tenniel appeared at the Royal Academy for the first time with his Captain Peppercull interceding for Nigel with Duke Hildebrand, from Scott's The Fortunes of Nigel (1822). This entertaining and colourful novel, with its Jacobean London setting, and its mixture of aristocratic, bourgeois and low-life characters, was clearly a favourite of Tenniel's at a time when the prevailing academic trend was in literary illustration, and it provided him with subjects for two further paintings, in 1839 and 1840.[8]

War was also a frequently romanticised subject, both as a vehicle for melodramatic reconstruction, as well as with poets and writers of fiction; most relevant in Tenniel's case, the genre of battlescene painting had long been a major one, and a number of his illustrations are really miniature battle paintings in black and white.

Tenniel's wide theatrical tastes proved another formative stimulus. The theatre in its diverse forms was a popular pastime for Victorians of all social classes, and from an early age Tenniel attended the legitimate theatre and the opera, as well as the more popular melodrama, burlesque and circus. A comprehensive record of these visits is contained in a set of sketches he drew between 1835 and 1846, and later pasted into a scrapbook which he called Pencillings from the Pit.[9] This shows that in the early 1840s he was at Drury Lane, seeing William Macready as Virginius in James Sheridan Knowles' melodrama; other highlights were Dion Boucicault's London Assurance and Madame Vestris' Little Devil at the Haymarket, and General Tom Thumb at the Princess's, while at Astley's Amphitheatre, famous for its equestrian spectaculars, he sketched the horses.

Punch was a later theatrical influence: from its conception in 1841 it was an overtly theatrical magazine, so that when Tenniel joined the staff in 1850 he became part of a lively group of playwrights, theatre critics and amateur actors. It is therefore not surprising that a dramatising tendency should be apparent in his Punch decorative work, and that many of the political cartoons, their subjects chosen by committee at the

Wednesday evening staff dinners, reflect an interest in the theatre, with strong leanings towards the burlesque. Shakespearean and other allusions abound, and politicians appear as ham actors in second-rate productions, making exaggerated gestures and uttering melodramatic stage whispers to convey their inner thoughts. Many of Tenniel's illustrations, too, reflect this interest: the moment he chooses for illustration is frequently a dramatic one, while his characters, with their typically melodramatic poses, seem to play to the viewer as to a theatre audience. Besides this implicit, or sometimes explicit, form of stage-setting, Tenniel is a true producer in his strikingly effective use of scenery, costume and lighting. He clearly brought all his theatrical enthusiasm, experience and knowhow to bear upon his work, and the more overtly theatrical illustrations and cartoons appear to have constituted some of the designs that he enjoyed doing most, so full are they of exuberance and drama.

Besides the Martin family, Tenniel was encouraged in his formative years by another friend, Thomas Barrett, whose home he began to visit on a regular basis in 1844.[10] After dinner the two men would sit at a table and draw in coloured chalks, later fixing their work into a folio. They selected their subjects more or less at random, but when another artist joined them in around 1846 they began to choose specific themes to share between themselves. This new addition to the artistic circle was Charles Keene who, like Tenniel, was soon to join the staff of Punch. Keene was three years younger than Tenniel; both were quiet in

temperament, while Barrett seems to have shared with them an irrepressible sense of humour. To the original thirty or forty pieces were now added a whole series, based on the signs of the Zodiac, the months of the year, quotations from Shakespeare, Plutarch, and Percy's Reliques, as well as burlesqued scenes from Roman and British history. Two of Tenniel's pieces are puns on Hamlet quotations: one, from Act I, is set on the battlements of Elsinore Castle, the other, from Act V, depicts a herald with a kettle for his head, a white feather rising from it like a wisp of steam, to the words 'And let the kettle to the trumpet speak'. Much of this work, already highly competent and mature, anticipated Tenniel's humorous treatment of historical and Shakespearean subjects in Punch, as well as his depictions of seasonal changes and occupations in the magazine's Almanack.

Both Tenniel and Keene were conservative in their politics, but this did not deter the trio from producing a somewhat revolutionary series, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which, while conveniently giving them a subject each, was also a pleasant reflection on their working relationship. The result of their activities they named The Book of Beauty in ironic imitation of Charles Heath's popular annual; years later, in 1892, it was exhibited at the Dowdeswell Galleries in London, and Tenniel, as self-effacing in later life as he was in his early years, expressed mild surprise at the interest this youthful work had generated.[11]

Tenniel and Keene also attended a sketching group known as the 'Artists' Society' which met in Clipstone Street, near

Fitzroy Square, every Friday evening. This was an informal but well-run group which appears to have operated on the progressive, Parisian atelier system; one week there would be a nude, the next a costumed model, and a two-hour time limit was imposed. The building was of the simplest kind, consisting of a large shed in a stonemason's yard, where a collection of costumes and books was gradually built up for general use. A number of professional artists belonged to the Society, including Carl Haag, John Clayton and P.H. Calderon, as well as George and Edward Dalziel, whose firm was later to engrave on wood the illustrative work of Tenniel and many others. This self-motivated group constituted Tenniel's main, if not only, use of the living model: indeed, he may have met his Italian wife, Julia Giani here, which would partly account for the typically Italianate appearance of many of his female figures. They married in 1854; sadly, Julia died two years later of a respiratory disease. Her death may also explain why Tenniel later avoided using a model altogether: after his early period of training he preferred to rely on an excellent visual memory, only occasionally using a photograph or drawings for a likeness of a politician or other public figure.

Tenniel was a keen sportsman: he rode his own horse, and enjoyed hunting, swimming and rowing. Not surprisingly, he also took part in his father's elegant sport of fencing, but this brought one unhappy result: at the age of twenty he lost the sight of his right eye when it was accidentally grazed by his father's unprotected épée; according to the Martins, the considerate son managed to spare his father any knowledge of the

tragic event. This accident appears to have slowed down Tenniel's promising career: his four exhibits at Suffolk Street in 1840 were reduced to one in 1841 (his last year there), and after 1843 he did not exhibit at the Academy again until 1851 and 1853, after which came a twenty-year gap.

Instead, his career began to move in other directions. His first of many book illustrations appeared in 1842, the forties being for Tenniel a decade of meticulously drawn and often charming work in the romantic vein, including many examples of the popular decorated page with its combination of text, border and design. In 1845 came another and entirely different departure, when Tenniel and other artists became involved in the project to decorate the newly-built Houses of Parliament with paintings and frescoes; it was this that led to his training in Munich under Peter von Cornelius, the master of fresco technique. Then, in 1850, his designs to a new Aesop's Fables of 1848 attracted the attention of Punch, and led to the momentous invitation to join the staff in replacement of Richard Doyle, a Roman Catholic, who had resigned his position as decorative artist because of the harsh anti-Catholic satire in which Punch was indulging. Tenniel soon came to contribute the weekly political cartoon, officially replacing John Leech on the latter's death in 1864.

Punch was something of a way of life for Tenniel and his colleagues; Henry Silver's diary of the lively Wednesday evening dinners is full of the conviviality of these occasions at which the weekly 'cut' would be discussed, and there are details of

sporting days out on the river and elsewhere. As already noted, many of the Punch men were involved in the theatre in one way or another, and Tenniel's own love of melodrama and burlesque is particularly evident in the cartoons, in which characters assume exaggerated poses and facial expressions, communicate in stage whispers, and use typically heightened melodramatic language.[12]

Tenniel was able to put his enthusiasm for the theatre into practice in 1851 and 1852, when he acted in London and on countrywide tour in Charles Dickens' amateur theatricals to raise funds for the Guild of Literature and Art. Besides Dickens himself, Tenniel's fellow-thespians included a number of his own Punch colleagues, as well as some friends of Dickens, including the artists Clarkson Stanfield and Augustus Egg and his biographer John Forster. In Edward Bulwer-Lytton's comedy Not so bad as we seem (1851), performed on one memorable occasion in June 1851 before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Tenniel played the small part of Hodge, a bumpkin footman and, when John Forster later withdrew from the provincial tour, he took the more prominent part of Hardman. The following year he played the Hon. Tom Saville in Dion Boucicault's and Charles Mathews' farce Used up (1844).[13]

A further acting opportunity came in 1867 when, together with Arthur Sullivan and the professional Terry sisters, Tenniel and his colleagues took part in a benefit performance for the widow and family of the artist Charles Bennett; the programme included Sullivan's Cox and Box, with a libretto by Francis Burnand, and Tom Taylor's historical drama A Sheep in Wolf's

Clothing (1857): a photograph of the company[14] shows Tenniel in a large cavalier-style hat and long wavy wig, in the part of Colonel Churchill, a character who makes a dramatic, deus ex machina entrance towards the end of Taylor's play. Tenniel's theatregoing continued, too. Henry Silver's diary makes a number of references to theatre visits with Tenniel and others; similarly, Linley Sambourne notes a visit to The Mikado at the Savoy Theatre on 18 March 1886 with Tenniel and others, as well as an evening at the Pavilion music hall on 12 February 1885.[15]

In parallel with his Punch career, Tenniel remained extremely active as an illustrator. The fifties was a time of consolidation and development, and an extremely busy period during which he contributed to eleven jointly-illustrated books; then, in 1858, he joined the ranks of illustrators of contemporary fiction, acting as sole illustrator over the next three years to two novels by his Punch colleague, Shirley Brooks. The sixties saw further departures, firstly into the field of oriental design with Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh and an Arabian Nights, then into children's literature with his famous illustrations to Lewis Carroll's two Alice books of 1865 and 1871.

Tenniel contributed to at least two books per year until the late sixties, but the early seventies saw him tiring of black-and-white, and by 1878 he had returned to the occupation of his youth, and hobby of his adult life, watercolour painting. He was elected a member of the Garrick Club in May 1873,[16] and of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colour in 1874. The break

is perhaps marked by a rare month's holiday in Venice with Henry Silver in 1878: only the second foreign trip of his life.

Tenniel was knighted in 1893 for his contribution to the art of the political cartoon, and continued as Punch's chief cartoonist to the age of eighty, retiring in January 1901, just before the death of the queen whose reign he had catalogued so faithfully in his weekly cartoons. He lived for another thirteen years, much of that time with the sight of his one good eye failing, and eventually completely blind. It was now that an early setback began to haunt him: there had been a few incorrectly drawn animals for the Aesop of 1848, and one visitor once heard him exclaim in his sleep, 'That lion's all wrong!' This, coming after a lifetime of superbly drawn animals, reflects his sensitivity and lack of self-esteem. He died just three days before his ninety-fourth birthday, on 25 February 1914. Six months later the Great War began, and the lingering Victorian era was truly over.

Tenniel and the Critics

Much has been written about Tenniel's work since the last decade of the nineteenth century. However, partly because Tenniel's career spanned almost seventy years, giving rise to a large and varied output, much of this criticism has been of a fragmentary nature, rarely attempting to encompass his entire oeuvre. Primarily, writers have tended to isolate Tenniel's book illustrations from his political cartoons, presumably for the sake of convenience, unable perhaps to reconcile in their minds these two major but somewhat different branches of his art. Such

a fragmentary approach is bound to result in an unbalanced picture, while at the same time the often strong, even deliberate, links between the illustrations and the cartoons are rarely identified. This is one area which I have sought to address, in the hope of showing how some images moved freely between the two media, so that, for example, a cartoon can refer back in parodic form to an earlier illustration, or an illustration can be reminiscent of an earlier cartoon.

A secondary but far more damaging kind of criticism is one that is not unique to Tenniel. This concerns the way in which some later writers, partly because they are faced with an enormous body of material, have found it sufficient to echo rather than challenge earlier critics. Thus, while dismissing much of Tenniel's work as not worth looking at, these writers give a distinct impression that they themselves have indeed looked no further than the two Alice books for their evidence. Some examples of this 'borrowed criticism' are given below.

A third criticism is a more general one, and is best dealt with first. This is the implied accusation of poor quality in an 'era of commercial reproductive engraving',[17] levied by Albert Garrett, a twentieth-century artist-engraver. Garrett argues that artists were not in control of their medium, since they took little interest in the engraving process itself, and relied upon 'hack' engravers to translate their work; it is presumably for this reason that he barely mentions the work of mid-nineteenth-century artists and engravers in his misleadingly titled History of British Wood Engraving of 1978.

While it cannot be denied that the majority of nineteenth-century wood engravings were indeed mass-produced, it does not necessarily follow that the quality was poor. Ruari McLean in his Victorian Book Design of 1963 gives a more balanced view on the subject; of the period 1837 to 1890 he writes:

> It was the last period of hand craftsmanship in commercial etching, wood-engraving and lithography; the last period when labour-saving devices co-existed with cheap labour, and marvellous effects were obtained in printing and bookbinding which no one could afford today.[18]

McLean's reference to cost is an important one: inexpensive mass production at least meant accessibility, and Garrett seems simply to be caught up in the age-old cultural argument of commercialism versus élitism.

Besides this, Garrett's purist attitude does not take into account the fact that many Victorian artists took the closest possible interest in the engraving process. Tenniel himself was well versed in its technicalities, and supplied each design in full detail, often drawing it in pencil onto the wood block itself; there is also clear evidence in the Print Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum that he checked proofs carefully before final printing and requested minute changes, whether the medium was wood or, less frequently, steel.

Nor can Tenniel be accused of involvement in hack work: he preferred to do a few illustrations, and do them well, rather than dash off more than he felt comfortable with, delaying his work for Lewis Carroll time and again in a combination of perfectionism and pressure of other commitments. A letter from

Tenniel to Martin Tupper in 1852 concerning the proposed illustration of Proverbial Philosophy gives further confirmation of his professional attitude, while at the same time acknowledging the problems involved in the engraving process itself:

> One difficulty presents itself to my mind which is the question of time - it would not do for a work of this character to be hurried, more especially in the matter of engraving for then the designer is a sure victim, tho' everybody suffers more or less.[19]

This feeling lasted throughout his career: years later, Tenniel spoke only half-jokingly to Spielmann of the 'weekly pang' Swain's engraving of his cartoon gave him.[20]

Tenniel's position as an artist was already well established during his own lifetime: the Art Journal editor, Samuel Carter Hall, for example, refers to Tenniel in his autobiography of 1883 as a 'master-spirit of the age'.[21] Tenniel's name appeared prominently on title pages, sometimes even on the outer cover, of books containing his illustrations, while few could fail to notice his weekly cartoon, conversations often centring around its appearance.

Linley Sambourne, who succeeded Tenniel as Punch's chief cartoonist in 1901, praises his colleague's work in an article in The Magazine of Art in 1892, stressing his immaculate draughtsmanship:

> Endowed with the invaluable gift of "form" to a greater degree than any of his contemporaries ... all John Tenniel's lines are clear and expressive, putting the subject before the eye with the utmost force and precision; there is never a line too much or out of place ...[22]

This is a fair evaluation by a fellow-professional of Tenniel's skill as an artist, recognising a traditional academic training as the basis for that skill. However, during the same decade a myth began to develop of Tenniel as a pure, serious and academic cartoonist with no sense of humour: an exaggeration and distortion of Sambourne's view. Tenniel himself was aware of this, for he complained of it during an interview with Spielmann in 1889, and was subsequently quoted in the History of Punch in 1895:

> Some people declare that I am no humorist, that I have no sense of fun at all; they deny me everything but severity, 'classicality', and dignity. Now I believe that I have a very keen sense of humour, and that my drawings are sometimes really funny![23]

It seems that this distorted image came about through an attitude of over-adulation, whereby late Victorians chose to emphasise the seriously classical, rather than the less orderly, romantic, aspects of Tenniel's art.

This need to see Tenniel as a 'serious' cartoonist may have been partly a reaction to the adverse criticism his harsher work sometimes attracted, for example on the grounds of racial stereotyping of Irish rebels in 1882.[24] This in turn seems to have led to a process of oversimplification by Tenniel's more favourable critics, who tend to filter out the more 'dubious' cartoons that contradict their preconceived view. For example, Spielmann in 1895 speaks of how Tenniel embodied for his younger colleagues 'the link incarnate of the tradition of Punch of the present with the past',[25] and this view is echoed in turn by Henry William Lucy in his Tenniel entry for the Dictionary of

National Biography, published in 1927.

Such veneration is understandable: for both men Tenniel must have seemed the grand old man of English cartooning, a position reinforced by the conferral of his knighthood in 1893. Both Spielmann and Lucy therefore, while their assessments are accurate in themselves, throw the picture out of balance by placing reverential emphasis on the nobility of many of Tenniel's political cartoons, and singling out his allegorical figures and animals as examples of his most striking work. At the same time they both play down some of the harsher aspects of Tenniel's work; according to Spielmann:

> .. with all his sense of fun and humour, Sir John Tenniel has dignified the political cartoon into a classic composition, and has raised the art of politico-humorous draughtsmanship from the relative position of the lampoon to that of polished satire[26]

and Lucy likewise speaks of 'a delightful humour which never degenerated into coarseness nor was lacking in dignity'.[27] Cosmo Monkhouse in his Art Journal monograph of 1901 follows the same line in admiring Tenniel's way of conveying humour (in the Aesop illustrations of 1848) without detracting from the moral purpose.[28]

This determination of Spielmann and Lucy to present Tenniel as a dignified cartoonist is also a reflection of the commonly-held view of the day that caricature had become more refined during the nineteenth century, contrasting with the coarseness and crudeness of eighteenth-century cartoonists such as James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson, followed by George and Robert Cruikshank in the early nineteenth. It is a view implicit in

W.M. Thackeray's appreciation of 1840 of John Doyle's 'genteel' political sketches, which he calls:

> polite points of wit, which strike one as exceedingly clever and pretty, and cause one to smile in a quiet, gentlemanlike kind of way.'[29]

Graham Everitt, in his English Caricaturists of 1893, implicitly sets Tenniel at the peak of this development, identifying him as 'a man of talent and genius',[30] and 'an artist of great and exceptional power'.[31] Everitt goes on to stress Tenniel's academic training and the dramatic element in his more serious designs, claiming that

> the cartoons of John Tenniel are oftentimes distinguished by a gravity and sternness of purpose which, combined with their artistic excellence, appeals forcibly to the imagination.'[32]

Tenniel's own concurrence with the view that harsh caricature had been replaced by gentler satire is reflected in his statement to Spielmann that 'if I am a 'cartoonist' - the accepted term - I am not a caricaturist in any sense of the word'; his own ambivalence can, however, be sensed in the words that immediately followed: 'My drawings are sometimes grotesque, but that is from a sense of fun and humour.'[33] This claim that his 'grotesque' work does not make him a 'caricaturist' may seem confusing, since the two words mean practically the same thing today; however, in Tenniel's day the label 'grotesque' probably did not carry the same adverse connotation as 'caricature', which would no doubt be more readily associated with the work of Gillray, Cruikshank and others.

It is true, of course, that many of Tenniel's cartoons do

convey a sense of dignity and nobility through the impression created by his academic style. However, as Tenniel himself stated, this must be balanced against the strong comic element in much of his work: an element that Spielmann, Everitt and Lucy conveniently ignore, unable to reconcile it with their established view of him. This lack of balance is reflected, for example, in Everitt's claim that '[i]n caricature he resumes in a measure the manner of the older caricaturists, without retaining a trace of their vulgarity',[34] and in Lucy's that Tenniel 'was always careful to make the politician, not the man, appear ridiculous, and [that] the laugh raised is almost invariably good-natured'.[35] It is also reflected in the way that, when Everitt does mention Tenniel's humorous aspects, he ignores the more incisively satirical work and cites some of the more harmless examples, such as the 'comical picture' of 'Britannia Discovering the Source of the Nile' of June 1863 [239a], and 'the quaint and mirth-provoking little pictures' in Alice and the Ingoldsby Legends.[36]

Some quotations from a few twentieth-century writers will serve to illustrate just how influential such views have been. Frances Sarzano, for example, claims in 1948 that 'Tenniel pulled out the sting of caricature',[37] and speaks of Tenniel's emotionless cartoons:

> It was as if the political antic were observed by some dispassionate, Olympian presence, and recorded with a slight smile.[38]

As late as 1971 Percy Muir was not only repeating the myth but exaggerating it still further, without, one feels, making a

critical examination of at least a representative selection of Tenniel's work. Sweepingly, he claims that

> Tenniel was a fine old English gentleman, lacking the depth of scorn and the fire of indignation essential to the really great cartoonist.[39]

Similarly, Simon Houfe states in his Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists of 1978 that Tenniel's cartoons 'represented not only the essence of Victorian Punch, but of Victorian society, imperial, dignified and Olympian.'[40]

A number of cartoons can be cited to disprove this image. From the point of view of personal satire, one need only look at some of the portrayals of Cardinal Wiseman [213b, 228a, 270b], Pope Pius IX [238a, 257, 270b, 271a], Benjamin Disraeli [229a, 233a, 246b, 250a, 251a-b, 253, 269a, 270a, 272a-b, 273a, 276a-b, 277b], William Gladstone [233a, 284b, 285a, 290a-b, 291a, 293a, 294b, 300a, 303b] and Sir William Harcourt [278b, 286b, 304b, 305a-b]; indeed, Tenniel himself joked that he did not expect Gladstone to invite him to dinner again after his portrayal of him as Mrs Gummidge in May 1885 [292a].[41]

In more general terms, the same element of satire can be seen in the unpleasantly exaggerated physical characteristics of a variety of representative national or social figures, often intensified by anthropomorphic treatment.[42] There are, for example, monster-like or asinine working men [245a, 262a], Calibanic Fenians [256b, 282b], hook-nosed Arabs and Jews [210a, 221b, 310b], thick-lipped Africans [227, 247a, 267a], and slant-eyed, high-cheekboned Chinese [210b, 215b, 237b, 306b]; in the same way, a country might be represented as a foolish dog [284a],

a snarling tiger [233b] or hyena, a ravenous vulture, a greedy alligator or an ugly dragon [237a, 301a, 308b]. This aspect of Tenniel's work, ignored (in print) by Spielmann, Lucy and Everitt, cannot fail to seem offensive to us today, and certainly does not support the view of him as an entirely noble, pure and classical cartoonist. Rather, it reflects an unpleasant element in Victorian attitudes which Tenniel's early admirers would be to some extent aware of, but which they no doubt preferred to play down.

The separate treatment of the book illustrations and the political cartoons has an equally long history. While the book illustrations were outside the scope of Everitt's and Spielmann's books, Lucy has less of an excuse in his Dictionary of National Biography entry, which should have given a more balanced view. In fact, Lucy's own background as a Punch journalist leads him practically to ignore the book illustrations, and to make the almost comical understatement that 'Tenniel did a certain amount of work as a book-illustrator'.[43] Lucy goes on to mention the illustrations to Lewis Carroll's two Alice books in 1865 and 1871, to Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh in 1861 and to R.H. Barham's The Ingoldsby Legends in 1864 before gravitating back to Punch with the Pocket-Book of 1876, inexplicably ignoring the fact that Tenniel had been contributing to this yearly little publication since the 1850s, with, according to Spielmann, a total of two hundred and fifty designs.[44]

Lucy is not alone in this partial selection from Tenniel's oeuvre. In more recent years, David Bland in The Illustration of

Books of 1962, while mentioning Tenniel's work for Lewis Carroll as the epitome of book illustration, has little idea about his other work, and mistakenly assumes that Leech, Cruikshank and Tenniel all drew their illustrations to The Ingoldsby Legends in 1864, whereas the other two artists' designs had been made over twenty years earlier.[45] Ruari McLean in 1963 similarly avoids discussing Tenniel's other work by stating that 'nothing he ever did was as good as his illustrations for Alice's Adventures in Wonderland', and continues:

> As Forrest Reid points out, Victorian publishers do not seem to have noticed that Tenniel was essentially a humorous artist with a flair for drawing animals.[46]

In the same way, Geoffrey Wakeman in his Victorian Book Illustration of 1973 mentions only Alice, giving as his justification the opinion 'that these are the only noteworthy illustrations Tenniel ever made.'[47]

In parallel with this exclusion of so many of Tenniel's book illustrations, another damaging line of thought was developing. This was set in motion by Gleeson White who, in his English Illustration, 'The Sixties' of 1897, anchors Tenniel firmly to Punch while denigrating the illustrations:

> Sir John Tenniel, ... more than any other of the Punch staff, seems never thoroughly at home outside its pages. The very idea of a Tenniel drawing has become a synonym for a political cartoon; so that now you cannot avoid feeling that all his illustrations to poetry, fiction, and fairy-tale must have some satirical motive underlying their apparent purpose.[48]

Nor can White avoid referring to Tenniel as 'our oldest cartoonist'[49] when discussing the Lalla Rookh illustrations [115-120]. In response to this inability to see Tenniel's

illustrations without thinking of the cartoons, one might ask whether White's prior knowledge that an illustration is by 'Tenniel, the cartoonist' is more responsible for such a reaction than is the illustration itself. Allowances must of course be made for the fact that White was writing at a time when Tenniel was still producing his weekly cartoon, and more than twenty years after his retirement from book illustration, but later writers have less of an excuse. Forrest Reid, in his Illustrators of the Sixties of 1928, goes even further than White, in a criticism (to be dealt with in due course) of Tenniel's occasionally sparse outline style:

> though admirably adapted to his work as Punch cartoonist, for serious illustration, and above all for the illustration of tales of modern life, it was an unsympathetic and unsuitable style.[50]

Now, nearly a century later, the distance in time should allow for greater critical objectivity, and Tenniel's illustrations should no longer be overshadowed so completely by his political work. There is a hint of enlightenment in Houfe's statement, in 1978, that with the illustrations to Shirley Brooks' novel The Silver Cord (1860-61) [109-114] 'Tenniel emerges as a very much more versatile draughtsman than Punch's cartoons would lead one to suppose',[51] but the emphasis has now shifted the other way, leaving us with an implied (and unqualified) criticism of the cartoons.

There have, however, been a number of wider-ranging discussions of Tenniel's illustrations, not all of them complimentary. Gleeson White is, if anything, non-committal,

mentioning a large number of Tenniel's designs but avoiding critical analysis by referring to them as 'typical' or 'characteristic'.[52] His longest discussion of Tenniel's work, concerning the sixty-nine illustrations to Lalla Rookh of 1861, is equally inexplicit:

> If to-day you hardly feel inclined to indorse the verdict of the Times critic, who declared it to be 'the greatest illustrative achievement by any single hand,' it shows nevertheless not a few of those qualities which have won well-merited fame for our oldest cartoonist, even if it shows also the limitations which just alienate one's complete sympathy.[53]

White similarly side-steps an assessment of Alice in Wonderland with the statement that this 'epoch-making book ... needs only bare mention, for who does not know it intimately?'[54]

This ambivalence appears to stem from White's frustrated desire to categorise the uncategorisable Tenniel, as reflected in a claim that comes early on in his book, that Tenniel

> may be considered as belonging especially to the sixties, wherein he represents the survival of an academic type in sharply accentuated distinction to the pre-Raphaelism of one group or to the romantic naturalism of a still larger section.[55]

This in itself is vague and self-contradictory, since Tenniel's supposed non-membership of either of the two groups mentioned hardly supports the 'sixties' label but tends rather to disprove it. Indeed, parallels can in fact be drawn between some of Tenniel's 'modern-day' illustrations [92-104, 109-114, 130a-b, 192a] and those of a number of classically trained pre-Raphaelite artists, most notably John Everett Millais [192b], William Holman Hunt, Frederick Sandys [7a] and Fred Walker. As for 'romantic naturalism', if White is referring to the country scenes of such

artists as Birket Foster, Pinwell and North, then he is right in saying that Tenniel has little in common with them, but this only goes to support Tenniel's closer affinity with the Pre-Raphaelites.

White seems conscious of not having given Tenniel sufficient coverage when he says, towards the end of his book, that Tenniel and some other artists

> would each require a volume, instead of a few paragraphs, to do even bare justice to the amazing quantity of notable illustrations they have produced.[56]

However, White's excuse that Tenniel is 'still alive and active' is somewhat ingenuous, since Tenniel was no longer producing book illustrations by that date. It would be nearer the truth to suggest that White was wary of criticising the work of an eminent living cartoonist.

Forrest Reid has been Tenniel's severest critic: his Illustrators of the Sixties of 1928 is peppered with adverse comments; indeed, there is a strange note of irrational hostility whenever Tenniel's name arises. Much of this attitude can be accounted for as a symptom of changing tastes, so that while Everitt, Spielmann and Lucy venerated Tenniel because of his establishment position, Reid reacts against him for exactly the same reason, just as Lytton Strachey is out of harmony with the subjects of his Eminent Victorians of 1918. This leads, for example, to Reid's petty complaint that Tenniel's female figures have 'unnaturally long eyelashes',[57] while he overlooks similar examples by Holman Hunt, Matthew Lawless, Frederick Sandys, Fred Walker, John Pettie and Luke Fildes, all reproduced in his book.

Another unfair criticism is Reid's attribution of the later success of the Aesop illustrations of 1848 [35-39] to Tenniel's Alice designs of 1865 [171-5]:

> Commercially, the Aesop's Fables has benefited from Tenniel's association with Alice's Adventures in Wonderland - that is all.[58]

On the contrary, the upturn in sales from the mid-1870s onwards, while it may well have been assisted by Alice's popularity, was just a further boost to the book's original success.

Some of Reid's more specific criticisms must also be addressed, since they have had a long-lasting influence on attitudes to Tenniel. His complaint, already touched upon above, that Tenniel's German-influenced outline style is unsuited to modern life is not qualified, but if he is suggesting that Tenniel's modern-day female figures sometimes seem rather too statuesque to be real, then Tenniel is not alone amongst Victorian artists in this respect, as the work of George du Maurier, Holman Hunt and Frederick Sandys, to name only three, confirms.

Clearly favouring realism in his Victorian illustrators of modern life, Reid goes on to criticise Tenniel's choice of the 'more stormy moments'[59] in The Silver Cord [111a, 112a], resulting in what he sees as unsuitable grotesqueness; at the same time, however, he speaks admiringly of 'The Iron Pit' [104b], one of Tenniel's most sensational designs to Brooks' earlier novel, The Gordian Knot (1858-59).[60] In his emphasis on grotesqueness, Reid fails to recognise some of the more obvious similarities to the illustrations of Millais and others, as noted

below.

In a letter of August 1900 to Spielmann,[61] Tenniel cites his Gordian Knot designs [94-104] as his least successful, while, probably in the light of the Times review quoted by White, he identifies the Lalla Rookh illustrations [115-120] as his best. Reid reverses this view with the unqualified statement that 'Lalla Rookh was hardly the kind of poem likely to inspire Tenniel's best work, and did not in fact do so',[62] while at the same time identifying the Gordian Knot illustrations as superior. Whether or not Reid had read Tenniel's letter, in which case his judgement may have been simply one of deliberate contradiction for contradiction's sake, this is again an indication of changing tastes.

Reid also demonstrates his uncritical dismissal of Tenniel in the way in which he commends other artists for something which Tenniel did equally well. For example, he praises the decorative use of the crinoline by Millais, Keene and Walker, ignoring Tenniel's portrayal of it in the two Shirley Brooks novels [94, 96a, 97a, 103a, 109b, 110a, 112b] and, most spectacularly of all, in F.W. Robinson's Grandmother's Money of 1862 [130a]. Even more obvious is his claim that Arthur Boyd Houghton's Arabian Nights designs of 1863-65 'dwarf every other drawing in the book',[63] thus effectively dismissing the work of the other seven illustrators; although he makes the general point earlier in his book that Tenniel 'could draw animals with great skill and understanding',[64] he now praises Houghton's animals whilst ignoring Tenniel's beautiful horses [139, 141] and comic Sidi

Nouman dog [140]. Reid similarly praises Linley Sambourne as 'that master of animal grotesque'[65] and states that 'in imaginative grotesque he is without a rival',[66] without acknowledging that Sambourne may have learned much of his decorative skill from his older colleague, a fact which belies Reid's claim that Tenniel had no influence on his contemporaries.[67]

One point in Reid's favour, however, is his emphasis on Tenniel's aptitude for comedy. Reid's view of him as 'essentially a humorous draughtsman',[68] while somewhat one-sided, is refreshing in that it reverses the serious image conferred on Tenniel by the 'Spielmann school', although, as we have seen above with the quotation from McLean, it has given rise to yet another distortion.

Reid's views have percolated almost wholesale into Percy Muir's Victorian Illustrated Books of 1971. Muir has adopted and elaborated upon Reid's opinions without independent reassessment, so that he is almost a parody of Reid in his scornful tone. Indeed, he verges at times on the personal, for example in the comment on Tenniel's set of ten designs of 1842 to 'King Estmere' in the Book of British Ballads [13]: 'It is surprising that he should have been given so many, but he was probably cheap.'[69] A later comment, equally unfounded, concerns Tenniel's eight contributions to the Arabian Nights [135-141], which was published in parts between 1863 and 1865: Muir claims that Tenniel's final seven were 'probably commissioned earlier, but [were] late in delivery';[70] this is nonsense, since they are

fairly evenly spread throughout the book, and in any case would have had to appear in the time-honoured Nights order.

Inexplicably, Muir also blames Tenniel for the fact that the first printing of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland had to be scrapped, making the sweeping claim that Tenniel could not be bothered to learn the wood engraving technique:[71] on the contrary, and as noted above, Tenniel was an expert in the medium, having worked in it since the early 1840s, and certainly did not provide the engraver simply with bare outlines for him to fill in the details as Muir suggests.[72] Muir also claims that the rest of Tenniel's book illustrations after Alice are 'nowhere' (having mentioned only a very small selection of them, mainly from the 1840s), exaggerates the minor errors of draughtsmanship in the early Aesop designs, and agrees with Reid that Tenniel is 'virtually a one-book man'.[73] Unimaginatively, Muir also echoes White and Reid in his claim that Tenniel's 'Lallah [sic] Rookh ... has not retained the extravagant esteem with which it was greeted on its first appearance.'[74]

Other writers have been fairer. Simon Houfe, for example, in 1978, in addition to the customary praise of Alice and the passing mention of the Silver Cord quoted above, comments on an elfland design to a Goethe poem, 'Eckhart the Trusty', in Once A Week (Vol. I, 1859). What Houfe says about this design counteracts much of the late Victorian emphasis on classicality, and throws interesting psychological light on the rival influence of romanticism:

> Tenniel of course is just one of a number of Victorian illustrators whose childhood fears and delusions seem

> to smoulder under the surface, only to burst out in zaney worlds where children and hobgoblins have complete control. The owls, bats and puckish denizens of the woods seem far more alive than the bewildered youngsters they surround.[75]

Houfe also points to Tenniel as a neglected artist from the collector's point of view, referring to him as one of the 'orphan children of the British School.'[76]

William Vaughan in his German Romanticism and English Art of 1979 has broadened the perspective on Tenniel's early book illustrations by placing him, along with a number of his contemporaries, within the German Romantic tradition. In particular, Vaughan discusses the influence of German fresco design, the outline style and the decorated page on English art, mentioning such publications as the Book of British Ballads (1842-44) [13], Undine (1845) [17-19] and Poems and Pictures (1846) [26-30], all of which contain examples of Tenniel's work.

As noted above, few writers have drawn a connection between Tenniel's illustrations and his cartoons. One exception is Forrest Reid, who sees in Tenniel's early 'whimsical drawings' for Punch a foretaste of the Alice designs.[77] Marguerite Mespoulet in her Creators of Wonderland of 1934 takes this idea further by comparing the comic, anthropomorphic work of the French illustrator and cartoonist J.J. Grandville with Tenniel's Alice designs. In doing this, Mespoulet uses as her examples not only the illustrative work of both artists but also their political cartoons, making much of the fact that Grandville drew for Le Charivari, the French model for Punch, which has as its alternative title The London Charivari. Frankie Morris in her

thesis of 1985 discounts Mespoulet's argument on the grounds that Grandville's figures are 'amalgams' whereas Tenniel's are identifiable specifically as either animals or people,[78] but the echoes of Grandville in Tenniel's work still cannot be ignored. Michael Hancher in his The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books of 1985 has also drawn some interesting comparisons; although he tends to remain with the bounds of Tenniel's other illustrations rather than look for parallels in the political cartoons, he does find an Alice prototype in a title page of 1864 [240a], and identifies a link between the medieval costumes of Alice [173a-b, 174a, 175a, 196c] and those in 'Punch's Book of British Costumes' [222a-b, 223a, 224], drawn by Tenniel in 1860.

Frances Sarzano was the first, after Monkhouse, to write a monograph on Tenniel. Her brief but informative Sir John Tenniel of 1948 supplies just enough biographical background to throw light upon Tenniel's work; she gives equal weight to Tenniel's frescoes, illustrations, cartoons and paintings, drawing comparisons between the media where appropriate, and provides a useful list of contributions which is deficient in only one detail: An Old Story of 1876.

Sarzano is clearly sympathetic to Tenniel's work, seeing him as 'a careful and capable draughtsman, with a strong sense of composition and an agreeable eye for pattern'; she appreciates his treatment of different kinds of light, in particular 'the chill, ineluctable quality of moonlight' [60a, 73a, 81b, 82, 114, 132a], and the strong contrasts of light and shadow which recur in his work [74a, 110b, 117, 129, 130b, 136a, 151, 159, 160,

165b, 185, 194a].[79] Here at last is an appreciation of Tenniel on his own artistic terms, and in explicit, tangible detail.

Sarzano also explains the melodramatic aspect of Tenniel's contemporary illustrations, deplored by Reid, as a specifically Victorian characteristic, and counteracts Reid by stating that Brooks' Gordian Knot and Silver Cord

> include some very pleasing drawings - attractive enough to make one regret that he illustrated so few novels and so many ballads and Norse legends.[80]

Thus the tastes of one age are overturned by those of a later one. Sarzano is perhaps forgetting, though, that the two Brooks novels contain a total of sixty-five designs, to which may be added three frontispieces to the Hurst and Blackett 'Standard Library' series: a reasonable antidote to the often single designs to an admittedly large number of ballads.

Sarzano's only real misinterpretation lies in her complaint that Tenniel relied too much on his memory, or on copying from pictures, and that this results sometimes in a two-dimensional effect. She complains that

> often Tenniel draws, as it were, the features of things without their personality. The essential quality eludes him. He remembers how a wall is built or how a sleeve falls, but the stoniness of stone and the silkiness of silk have slipped unnoticed from his mind.[81]

Unfortunately, no examples are cited to support this claim, and the present writer has searched in vain for un-stony walls and non-silky silk. Indeed, Tenniel seems one of the most three-dimensional of artists in the way in which he suggests shape and texture; there is sometimes even an element of tangibility about

his work, so that one can almost reach out and feel the dry roughness of stone [64b, 70a, 81b], or the cool, smooth surface of a quilted silk cape [97b, 99b].

It has already been noted how recent critics such as Bland, McLean, Muir and Wakeman avoid discussing Tenniel's work in any kind of detail. More recently, however, two very different works have appeared which focus solely on Tenniel, and which therefore have the space to examine his work much more thoroughly. The first is Frankie Morris' thesis of 1985, John Tenniel, Cartoonist: A Critical and Sociocultural Study in the Art of the Victorian Political Cartoon.[82] As her title suggests, Morris centres entirely on Tenniel's cartoons. She devotes three chapters to Tenniel's career on Punch, the iconography of many of his cartoons, and his place within the wider art world of the day; she also looks in specific detail at Tenniel's portrayal of the English working man and the Irish rebel. There are two appendices, one listing the 'high art' sources Tenniel used for some of his cartoons, many of them paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy, the other giving details of copies and adaptations of his cartoons which appeared in the American magazine, Harper's Weekly. While her focus is explicitly on the cartoons, Morris notes the way in which Tenniel was regarded in his own day as 'first a cartoonist and only secondarily an illustrator',[83] and recognises 'the need for a fresh look' at his work; she is herself currently at work on a comprehensive study of Tenniel.

The other work, Rodney Engen's Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight of 1991,[84] has been, on the whole, disappointing.

Engen concentrates almost entirely on biographical information, some of it little more than imaginative guesswork about people's thoughts and feelings. At the same time Engen makes innumerable mistakes, in particular with names: for example, he claims that Tenniel visited Italy in 1878 with Henry William Lucy, whereas according to Spielmann it was Henry Silver; he similarly claims that a Henry William Lumsden wrote the Tenniel entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, when in fact it was Lucy, and no such person as Lumsden appears in the list of contributors to that volume. Engen's captions to illustrations are also unreliable: for example a Pocket-Book design showing a man on a falling horse is claimed to be from 'The Smuggler's Leap' [160b] in The Ingoldsby Legends of 1864, presumably because of a similarity of situation. Most alarming of all, though, is the clear impression that Engen has not familiarised himself with the texts that Tenniel was illustrating, since captions give the wrong characters' names, or are too vague to be of much use to the reader. Most ridiculous of all, he conflates two of Tenniel's illustrations to Barry Cornwall's Dramatic Scenes of 1857, and gives to the poisoning scene from 'Ludovico Sforza' [67d] a caption from the proposal scene in 'The Falcon' [68c].

Looking back, then, at Tenniel's 'critical heritage', it would appear to be Forrest Reid, and those who have echoed him, who must be held responsible for giving Tenniel the image of an odd-man-out as an artist and illustrator: an embarrassing anachronism, irrelevant, passé, second-rate, or in some mysterious way out of touch with his own century. In spite of

some more recent assessments to the contrary, old attitudes like these die hard. Certainly, as the nineteenth century progressed, Tenniel's art came to appear more and more old-fashioned and out-of-touch with current trends, especially in his depiction of modern technology such as railway engines and bicycles. This was partly due, no doubt, to his reliance on an excellent visual memory which, as he grew older and more confirmed in his ways, he may not have replenished as often as he might. It is equally true, however, that Tenniel was a man of his times, influenced throughout his career by the artistic traditions and developments of that time, an age of eclecticism in which classical, romantic and oriental styles, and historical, fanciful and contemporary subjects all had a place.

This chameleon-like quality is easily illustrated by the fact that Tenniel's two great strengths as an artist lie in such widely differing traditions, although ironically both appear in cartoon and illustration alike: one is his monumental 'grand manner', the other his whimsical or grotesque vein of humour. It is, then, this sheer adaptability to style and subject that has made the categorisation of Tenniel's work so problematic, and led to such one-sided and distorted assessments, especially by those critics who approach him with their own prejudices, or without the time or patience to look at his work with fresh eyes. A fellow-artist, W.P. Frith, has perhaps come closest to expressing Tenniel's individuality:

> Tenniel is sui generis. His style is unique. Nothing like it has ever been seen before; and ... nothing so quaint, so humorous, so completely appreciative of the

subject suggested will be seen again.[85]

Apart from Alice and the Punch cartoons, most of Tenniel's work is forgotten today, and therefore as an artist he is only partially understood. Clearly the lesser-known work needs to be looked at again in order for Tenniel to be viewed in a more balanced way, taking the familiar with the less familiar, the outstanding with the less successful. Only then can a fair assessment of Tenniel's contribution to the art and life of his age be arrived at, and only then can his true status as a Victorian artist be identified.

From the point of view of this study, Tenniel's vast output has proved difficult to categorise: his long career and versatility meant that he was illustrating a wide range of literature in a variety of styles, not always easily separable from each other in chronological terms. However, a loosely chronological approach has been chosen, within which a number of identifiable styles and genres can be examined with reasonable clarity.

Because of its early and lasting influence on Tenniel, Classicism comes first, ranging widely from the early 1840s to his very last political cartoon, in 1901. The second section, Romanticism, focuses closely on particular books he illustrated during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, many of which reflect the German romantic influence of page decoration and the outline style, as defined by William Vaughan. Three sections follow: Realism, covering Tenniel's brief excursion into the illustration of contemporary fiction; Orientalism; and Children's Literature;

amazingly, all three coincided during the 1860s, when Tenniel was at the very height of his career. The final section examines his later work, looks at his lifelong interest in Shakespeare as reflected mainly in his Punch work, goes on to discuss his lasting fame as a children's illustrator, and suggests some ways in which his political cartoons are still providing a rich iconographical source for cartoon artists today.

At every stage, parallels are drawn between the book illustrations and the political cartoons, showing how the two media were not entirely self-contained, but rather how they influenced and informed each other throughout Tenniel's long career. All in all, this thesis seeks to offer a comprehensive analysis of Tenniel's work, and a balanced assessment of his achievement as an artist.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

Biography

1. A mutual interest in fencing may have been how the Tenniels became acquainted with the painter John Martin and his family: according to Mary L. Pendered in John Martin, Painter - His Life and Times, London: Hurst & Blackett, 1923, Martin was a keen fencer, playing daily for his own amusement and taking lessons from a professional.

2. Frances Sarzano, Sir John Tenniel, London: Art and Technics, 1948, p.32.

3. Quoted in Frederic G. Kitton, Dickens and His Illustrators, London: George Redway, 1899 [1898], pp.173-4.

4. For Tenniel's relationship with the Martin family see Mary L. Pendered, John Martin, Painter - His Life and Times.

5. A copy of this drawing is held in the National Portrait Gallery Archive.

6. Leonée Ormond, George du Maurier, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p.36.

7. The Minstrel (1836), from a fifteenth-century German romance, is sometimes given as Tenniel's first exhibited painting. However, The Bride of Lammermoor is listed first in the Royal Society of British Artists. Works Exhibited 1824-1893 (2 vols.), Antique Collectors' Club, 1975.

8. Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts, London: Henry Graves and Co Ltd and George Bell and Sons, 1905, reprinted by S.R. Publishers Ltd and Kingsmead Reprints, 1970. The 1839 exhibit was Captain Colepepper's visit to Nigel in Alsatia, and in 1840 Lord Dalgarno's visit to Nigel at the house of John Christie, the ship chandler.

9. See Jacqueline Knight, Theatre Arts Monthly, Vol. 12, February 1928.

10. For information on Tenniel's visits to the Barretts, and on the Clipstone Street Society, see Derek Hudson, Charles Keene, London: Pleiades Books, 1947.

11. The book was bought, and the pages separated and dispersed. Tenniel's Hamlet designs are held in the Print Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum; Hudson (see note 10) reproduces some of Keene's contributions.

12. For example, 'Steering under Difficulties' (May 1868) has the ship's captain Disraeli declaim as Gladstone and Bright climb on board:

Give up the Helm? Resign the Command? Never! Come one, come all, I stick to my craft. Back I say! One step in-board, and I blow up the ship. Ha, ha!!

13. C.W., The Dickensian, 10, April 1914.

14. The photograph is reproduced in Marion H. Spielmann, The History of "Punch", London: Cassells, 1895, and by Leonée Ormond in George du Maurier.

15. I am indebted to Leonée Ormond for this information from Sambourne's diaries.

16. George Somes Layard, A Great "Punch" Editor. Being the Life, Letters, and Diaries of Shirley Brooks, London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1907, pp.544, 545.

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17. Albert Garrett, History of British Wood Engraving, London: Bloomsbury Books, 1978, p.134. See also pp.21, 101-2, 139. While including Linton and Swain, Garrett omits the Dalziel Brothers entirely. Kenneth Lindley's The Woodblock Engravers, Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1970, is also skimpy on the mid-Victorian period.

18. Ruari McLean, Victorian Book Design, London: Faber, 1963, Foreword, vii.

19. Quoted in Derek Hudson, Martin Tupper: His Rise and Fall, London: Constable, 1949, p.159.

20. Spielmann, p.464.

21. Samuel Carter Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life: from 1815 to 1883 (2 vols.), London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1883, I.331.

22. Linley Sambourne in The Magazine of Art, London: Cassell & Company, 1892, pp.43-4.

23. Spielmann, p.463.

24. Frankie Morris, John Tenniel, Cartoonist: A Critical & Sociocultural Study in the Art of the Victorian Political Cartoon, unpub. PhD thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1985, p.250, mentions the Graphic, the Spectator and the Nineteenth Century in this connection; the Athenaeum also tended to criticise Tenniel for what it saw as exaggerated grotesqueness.

25. Spielmann, p.473.

26. Spielmann, p.471.

27. H.W. Lucy in The Dictionary of National Biography 1912-1921, Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1927, p.525.

28. Cosmo Monkhouse, The Life & Works of Sir John Tenniel RI, London: Art Journal Easter Annual, 1901.

29. Quoted in Graham Everitt, English Caricaturists and Graphic Humourists of the Nineteenth Century, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893 (2nd ed.), p.240, from Westminster Review, June 1840. See also Dickens' comments on John Leech in 'The Rising Generation', The Examiner, 1848, reproduced in Miscellaneous Papers (I am indebted to Michael Slater for this reference).

30. Everitt, p.6.

31. Everitt, p.300.

32. Everitt, p.399.

33. Quoted in Spielmann, p.463.

34. Everitt, p.398.

35. DNB, p.526.

36. Everitt, p.400.

37. Sarzano, p.22.

38. Sarzano p.23.

39. Percy Muir, Victorian Illustrated Books, London: Portman Books, 1971, p.108.

40. Simon Houfe, The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists 1800-1914, Antique Collectors' Club, 1978, p.476.

41. Spielmann, p.466.

42. For further details of Tenniel's stereotypical working man and Irish rebel, see Morris, Chapter IV.

43. DNB, p.526.

44. Spielmann, pp.470-1.

45. David Bland, The Illustration of Books, London: Faber and Faber, 1962, p.73.

46. McLean, pp.122-3.

47. Geoffrey Wakeman, Victorian Book Illustration - The Technical Revolution, Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1973, p.72.

48. Gleeson White, English Illustration 'The Sixties': 1855-70 (1897), Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970, p.22.

49. White, p.112.

50. Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the 'Sixties, Faber & Gwyer, 1928 (reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1975), p.26.

51. Houfe, p.120.

52. White, pp.21, 48, 109, 135.

53. White, p.112.

54. White, p.127.

55. White, p.21.

56. White, p.178.

57. Reid, p.26.

58. Reid, p.6.

59. Reid, p.26.

60. Reid, p.27.

61. Letter, 27 August 1900, Punch Library. Tenniel says nothing here of his designs to Brooks' The Silver Cord (1860-61).

62. Reid, p.27.

63. Reid, p.195.

64. Reid, p.27.

65. Reid, p.23.

66. Reid, p.238.

67. Reid, p.26.

68. Reid, p.27.

69. Muir, p.35.

70. Muir, p.139.

71. Muir, p.110.

72. Muir, pp.106, 216.

73. Muir, pp.111-12.

74. Muir, p.112.

75. Houfe, p.120.

76. Houfe, p.212.

77. Reid, p.27.

78. Morris, p.160.

79. Sarzano, p.13.

80. Sarzano, p.14.

81. Sarzano, p.15.

82. See note 24. above.

83. Morris, Preface, iv.

84. Rodney K. Engen, Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991.

85. Quoted by Morris, p.307, from Frith's Victorian Canvas, pp.228-29.

# I CLASSICISM

## Introduction

The influence on Tenniel of the classical style began with his brief period as a Royal Academy student in the 1830s, and with his work as a monumental artist in the 1840s. It was to continue unabated to the end of his career, the most prevalent image being that of the allegorical female figure, who appears in illustration and cartoon alike, and in both serious and comic contexts. As we shall see, there was a literary influence too, in his interest in classical mythology; these subjects are generally in comic form, and are found primarily in his cartoons.

## Monumental Art

A turning point in Tenniel's career came in 1845 when he and a number of other artists became involved in the project to decorate the newly-built Houses of Parliament with paintings and frescoes. Partly through the influence of Victoria's German Consort, Prince Albert, this was becoming as popular a form of public art in England as it already was in Germany, and was conceived on similar lines to the decoration of King Ludwig of Bavaria's Residenz in Munich. Artists were selected on a competitive basis, with guidelines published by the recently-established London Art-Union. For Tenniel, ambitious to become a monumental artist, the project was an ideal opportunity, and when details of three companion-piece frescoes for the House of Lords were published in 1845 he set to work and submitted his design for a Spirit of Justice [1a]. W. Cave Thomas and Ford Madox Brown chose the same subject, while others submitted designs for

the Spirit of Chivalry and the Spirit of Religion.

These fresco designs, or cartoons, were sixteen feet high, the actual size of the architectural space to be filled. A glance at some of the entries and resultant paintings shows how precise the original criteria had been: each one displays an adherence to classical form and symmetry within the same arched shape, the focal point of many being a central, symbolic human figure presiding over a set of subordinate figures. Two successful artists in the competition were Daniel Maclise and J.C. Horsley: Maclise completed his Spirit of Chivalry [2b] and Horsley his Spirit of Religion in 1847. But none of the Justice entries seems to have satisfied the Commissioners, for this fresco was not begun until 1848, when Maclise was commissioned to paint it, completing it in the following year.

Tenniel's Justice design had been appreciated, however; he was awarded a premium and commissioned to portray St Cecilia (based on Dryden's Ode), one of eight frescoes in the Gallery of Poets, in the Upper Waiting Hall of the House of Lords. To prepare himself for the task he went to Munich to study fresco technique under the recognised master of fresco painting, Peter Cornelius, Director of the Munich Academy since 1825. Cornelius had given advice on the Westminster project during a visit to London in 1841; with his emphasis on participation in creative work, he was an inspiration to artists who came to him from all over Europe for masterclass tuition.

Thus, alongside the neoclassicism of his Royal Academy training, this more recent German influence was of equal and

complementary importance to Tenniel. Cornelius' own training in monumental art had begun in 1811 when he joined the Nazarenes, a self-motivated community of German painters based in Rome. Choosing predominantly religious subjects, they rejected the artificially classical training offered in the German academies to find new inspiration in the vibrant colours and renaissance lines of the best Italian painters; at the same time they retained the style and simplicity of their classical foundations, an emphasis on line as opposed to blocks of colour being their foremost characteristic.[86] This is evident in Cornelius' Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (1845) [3], with its strong lines and romantic sense of turbulent movement.

On his return from Munich, Tenniel set to work on his St Cecilia [1b]. The surrounding figures, particularly the soldier in the lower right, have a three-dimensionally human quality also found in Maclise's work, and the symmetrically placed romanesque arch is reminiscent of that in Maclise's Spirit of Chivalry [2b]. However, the saint herself seems rather wooden, and Tenniel was perhaps still at a transitional stage as he felt his way towards an independent style. The fresco is compositionally similar to his earlier cartoon: although its central figure is pictured in side view, kneeling on a step, the Spirit of Justice [1a] formula is apparent in the saint's elevated position and raised, blind eyes, and in the semicircular grouping of human figures. One might compare Tenniel's St Cecilia with Dante Gabriel Rossetti's illustration to 'The Palace of Art' [6c] in the Moxon edition of Tennyson's poems (1857): the

angle of viewpoint is practically the only similarity, for Rossetti's design is deliberately unconventional, and far from classical in its cluttered state.

To complete his fresco at Westminster, Tenniel had to spend many painstaking hours in a room with little natural lighting: indeed, although the fresco is officially dated 1849, he was still working on it in the following year, an article in the Art Journal in 1850 speaking of Tenniel as still working on the fresco at that time.[87] Maclise, who painted a large number of frescoes elsewhere in the building, suffered both physical and mental stress from working long hours in light distorted by stained-glass windows, and one can imagine the added strain on Tenniel with only one good eye to rely upon. But then came the final humiliation: the frescoes began to fade, not so much from the dampness of the climate, but more because of the room's polluted atmosphere from gas lighting and, no doubt, tobacco smoke. A monument to his thoroughness, Tenniel's St Cecilia was not boarded up like the other Poets' Gallery frescoes; well-meaning attempts at preservation were made from time to time, but it has only been in recent years that a serious restoration project has been undertaken, and with rewarding results. Tenniel's fresco was one of the first to be restored, in 1985, by Krystina Barakan of English Heritage.

The loss of his St Cecilia fresco must have seemed a tragic end to Tenniel's aspirations as a monumental artist. However, the experience gained in Munich and at Westminster had by no means been wasted. The neoclassical-germanic 'grand style' never

left him, but instead found its way into Tenniel's black-and-white work. The monumental influence in particular, in the form of stonework or romanesque arches enclosing or framing human figures as in his St Cecilia [1b] or in Maclise's Spirit of Chivalry [2b], can be found in a number of Tenniel's illustrations, some of the most notable examples being 'The Minstrel's Curse' (Poems and Pictures, 1846) [26], 'Rienzi and His Daughter' in Robert Willmott's anthology, Poets of the Nineteenth Century (1857) [72a], and 'The Evil Tribute of Noménoë' (Once A Week, 1860) [107]. Comic versions of such scenes appear too, in R.H. Barham's Ingoldsby Legends (1864): 'The Blasphemer's Warning' [162b] and 'Richard and Robert of Birchington' [164a-b, 165a], the latter contrasting the 'good' and 'bad' brothers by means of architectural symmetry and asymmetry respectively. Best known of all, of course, is the triumphant symmetry of Lewis Carroll's 'Queen Alice' (1871) [198a].

The architecturally-based lunette shape plays a part too. An early example is a panel design which appears in several issues of the Illustrated London News in 1851:[88] this is of twelve outline figures grouped symmetrically on either side of an old man with a harp, his arm raised dramatically as he tells a story. The shape reappears in one of Tenniel's illustrations to Martin Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy (1854): 'The Dream of Ambition' [52] depicts a family group lamenting over the body of a young man whose military ambition, symbolised by the broken sword and loose horseshoe lying in the foreground, has proved his

downfall. Despite the more realistic setting, there is a clear sense of architectural symmetry in this design, the lunette shape being suggested by the natural arch of cloud above the group. A final example is his illustration to B. Aikin's 'Lament for Eros' [105] (Once A Week, 1859), a blending of the traditionally religious lamentation with a pagan subject.

In addition to such examples, Tenniel translated his 'grand style' into a more immediate form of public art, making his mark week after week for almost fifty years in his influential political cartoons. Central to many of these was the allegorical female figure from his 1845 Spirit of Justice.

Allegory and the Female Figure

During its early, more radical days of the 1840s, Punch satirically appropriated the term 'cartoon' following an exhibition of fresco designs at the Houses of Parliament. When Tenniel joined the staff in 1850 the editor, Mark Lemon, was consciously attempting to raise the tone of the magazine, and Tenniel, whose sober, classical style lent a new air of academic respectability, was often given the task of providing the weekly 'cut' in place of the rather rough-and-ready chief cartoonist, John Leech. When Leech died in 1864, Tenniel took his place. It was ironic, then, that Tenniel, himself a Westminster artist in the 1840s, came to be employed by an increasingly middle-class Punch to provide hundreds of cartoons of a different kind, some of them in the style of his fresco design of 1845. Indeed, it was Tenniel's transformation of the élitist 'high art' of the establishment into the immediacy and popularity of the cartoon

form that did so much to help Punch gain the acceptance and wide readership it sought among the middle and upper classes.

The allegorical figure is a key to much of Tenniel's work in cartoon and illustration alike; his Spirit of Justice [1a] is a prime example of how the larger-than-life statuesque female form, placed centrally within an architectural framework, can be made to represent an abstract idea. This figure was derived from a long tradition of classical sculpture based on Italian models, of which there were, and still are, examples all over London. In parallel with these were the idealised female figures in the frescoes and paintings of the Nazarenes, themselves influenced by Italian subjects in Rome; later German artists such as Alfred Rethel adapted this figure to German folk myth, as seen in his mid-1830s Loreley illustration [5a] and Nemesis painting [5b], influencing in turn English artists like Maclise and Tenniel.

Closely related to Tenniel's Justice is his illustration to Milton's 'L'Allegro' in the Art-Union's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso of 1848.[89] This one-guinea, quarto-sized giftbook, with its emphasis on Britain's literary heritage, is practically a continuation in volume form of the Gallery of Poets at Westminster. Tenniel's full-page plate [48] is in the manner of a tableau with an idyllic pastoral atmosphere. The central figure is Hymen, the classical deity of marriage, portrayed in a slightly ambivalent, androgynous form, to accompany the lines:

> There let Hymen oft appear
> In saffron robe, with taper clear,
> And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
> With mask, and antique pageantry;
> Such sights as youthful poets dream

On summer eves by haunted stream.

The statuesque Hymen appears in an elevated position, above his head the familiar romanesque arch, below him a broad semicircle of lively revellers in a rich scene of festivity, vitality and warmth.

Tenniel employs this same classical figure for his heroic cartoon females such as London, Britannia, Europa, Liberty, Peace and Justice. An indication of their establishment status is reflected in the way the statuesque image of Queen Victoria herself is employed on one memorable occasion in Tenniel's '"O God of Battles! Steel my Soldiers' Hearts!"' (October 1857) [234b], in which she prays for her army in the wake of the Indian Mutiny. This implicitly lunette-shaped cartoon echoes Tenniel's design for a fresco [90] [4], both of them containing an echo of the Justice cartoon in their evocation of intense human activity surrounding the still, central figure.

The symbolic depiction of Victoria in Punch is somewhat unusual. It was Britannia who most frequently brought patriotic seriousness to Tenniel's cartoons, and her statuary origins are sometimes explicitly alluded to: an 1887 title page (Vol. 92) shows Mr Punch himself as her creator, his sculpture so new that he is still chipping away at the date on the base. She is particularly influential in the way she speaks for the nation at moments of emotional crisis: 'Britannia Sympathises with Columbia' (May 1865) shows her commiserating with her American counterpart on the assassination of President Lincoln. She appears in mourning likewise for some of her own country's

leaders: Lord Beaconsfield in '"Peace with Honour"' (April 1881) and W.E. Gladstone in 'May 19, 1898' (May 1898); and in 'Queen Hermione' (September 1865) [242b] she expresses and at the same time influences national opinion by tactfully but firmly urging Victoria to emerge from her prolonged, private mourning for Albert.

On happier occasions Britannia embodies pride in national achievement: as the Colonial Exhibition opens, 'Hail, Britannia!' (May 1886) shows her riding a chariot drawn by a British Lion and an Indian Tiger.[91] She also idealises concepts of British strength and independence: in the ironically titled '"The Unprotected Female"!' (May 1888) she stands in a ruined landscape under a stormy sky, the sword of Patriotism clutched tightly in her hands and a forbidding expression on her face. Similarly armed in 'Ready!' (January 1896), she appears as her country's protector as she gazes out across a rough sea, her long, wavy hair flying in the wind.

But not all of Tenniel's depictions of Britannia are serious: just as he later parodies his 1848 Milton illustration in cartoons like 'Hymen, Fin de Siècle' (May 1891) [300b],[92] he sometimes draws Britannia as a plump, domestic-looking matron, her distinctive helmet doubling as a bonnet. 'The National Crinoline' (February 1863) is just one of many Punch satires on women's fashions, showing Britannia as a kind of universal housewife wearing the enormously wide skirt of public expenditure;[93] here, with a side-glance at the crinoline's notoriety as a fire hazard, Mr Punch warns that her guards will

not keep her out of the fire unless she 'reduces'. However, Tenniel rarely portrays Britannia at fault: rather, she is seen to be highly conscientious in money matters, arguing with an unusually severe, old-maidish Columbia in 'The Disputed Account' (October 1865) [243a] over the latter's claim for Civil War damages. A further quarrel with America is pictured in '"Hoity-Toity!!!"' (February 1868) [248b], Britannia this time posing as a mother-figure in a Union Jack apron, about to mediate between the quarrelling children, Johnny Bull and his Alice-like Cousin Columbia.

Britannia's juxtaposition with leading politicians often results in making the latter appear ridiculous. Playing mother in 'The Schoolmaster at Home' (January 1865), she conveys a more diminutive than usual Lord John Russell to have his letter-writing improved by Schoolmaster-Prime Minister Lord Palmerston. A few years later in 'The End of the Season' (August 1871) she is the harrassed employer of 'butler' Gladstone, her desk surrounded by an excess of parliamentary papers.[94]

A rather different female figure is the angel, typically employed in illustrations to Victorian religious or sentimental literature; Tenniel himself contributed a number of these [42b, 50, 56, 62b, 65a, 75a, 105, 118a, c]. In his cartoons this figure is adapted to represent Peace, sometimes in conjunction with an Old Year or Old Father Time.[95] Rethel was again of influence here: his oil painting Nemesis of 1836-37 [5b], its subject fate rather than peace, depicts a typical angel type, while his 1851 almanack designs [6a-b] include 'Das neue Jahr',

an angelic figure complete with olive branch and cornucopia, and 'Das alte Jahr', her elderly male counterpart who carries a scythe. The symbolism of winged time is of course an old one, but a clear line of influence appears to links Rethel and Tenniel: the hourglass of Nemesis reappears in Tenniel's last cartoon, '"Time's Appeal"' (January 1901) [313], which depicts the angel of Peace and Old Father Time side by side.

As this latter cartoon shows, the Peace angel of Punch has a more specific role to play than her more decorative, literary sisters. In an 1856 Preface (Vol. 31) she waits to be kissed under the mistletoe by a group of national figures, Victoria standing close by with an arm round her waist. Similarly, 'Peace' (May 1862) shows her sitting demurely on a cannon, olive branch in hand, as Mr Punch's suggested statue for the International Exhibition of that year. Her role is ironic at times: 'Vulcan's Best Customer' (September 1866) comments on her paradoxical relationship to war, the mythological blacksmith being busy supplying weapons to many nations in order to maintain a peaceful balance of power.[96] A similar situation is suggested by 'Peace (?). 1889' (January 1889), in which Tenniel employs a clever trompe l'oeïl effect: Peace is clearly prepared for any eventuality here, for a close examination reveals that her wings are made of sharply pointed blades, and while she holds out an olive branch in one hand she grips a sword in the other.

While Punch came increasingly to uphold the status quo at home, it was not sparing in criticism of other countries' oppressive régimes, and the figure of Liberty plays a significant

part here. Like Britannia and Peace she is given a statuary role in 'Liberty à la Persigny' (September 1864), a comment on French censorship in which Mr Punch presents his newly-completed figure, manacled and gagged, and standing on a newspaper. Less hampered in March 1856 she offers to act as godmother to Louis Napoleon's newborn child, while in 'Liberty' (September 1859), the young Napoleon having reached schoolgoing age, she teaches him to write the word 'Amnesty' on a blackboard. Punch tended to idealise popular leaders like the Italian Garibaldi and the Hungarian Kossuth, and Liberty undertakes a dramatic role in 'Liberty Files the Austrian Bars of Italy' (September 1856), a romantic comment on the escape from prison of the revolutionary Felice Orsini.

More than any other, however, it was Tenniel's Justice figure which was to predominate, in book illustrations and cartoons alike, as a development of his 1845 Spirit of Justice [1a]. Closest to the Westminster cartoon is his 1854 design to Tupper's 'Of Compensation' [51], which argues that good and evil are inseparable, and that just punishment is therefore necessary in an imperfect world. Justice is balanced with mercy here, for the blind, seated figure blesses the good on her left while ignoring the evil on her right. The familiar arch shape forms an architectural boundary above and behind her, while the dungeon depicted in the lunette section below, containing a figure lying in chains, gives further indication of her power, suggested by Tupper's fulsome lines:

> Thou art in an evil case, it were cruel to deny to thee
> compassion,
> But there is not unmitigated ill in the sharpest of
> this world's sorrows:

> I touch not the sore of thy guilt; but of human griefs
> I counsel thee,
> Cast off the weakness of regret, and gird thee to
> redeem thy loss:
> Thou hast gained, in the furnace of affliction, self-
> knowledge, patience, and humility ...

Tenniel carries this same figure through into many of his cartoons. The double-page 'Justice to Ireland' (January 1869) [254], a comment on Gladstone's disestablishment of the Anglican Church in a predominantly Catholic Ireland, depicts a grim, blindfolded figure, her cool classicality contrasting strongly with the heavily shaded, disreputable-looking Irish priest and Fenian pictured below her. The stonework throne is identical to that in the Tupper illustration, and she holds her sword and scales together in her right hand in the same distinctive way. She is slimmer and more attractive than her 1854 counterpart, but her seated pose - derived from Michelangelo's Isaiah in the Sistine Chapel - is the same, her widely spread knees creating the same wrinkles and folds in her garment, while the symmetrical balancing of Gladstone and the kneeling Fenian below implies a similar lunette shape.[97] A harsher depiction is found in the slightly earlier 'Justice - for Ireland' (July 1866) [244b], a satire on unjust legal appointments. Justice here is an almost toothless, broken-down old woman with bandaged legs and feet, reminiscent of Tenniel's witch in an illustration to Barham's 'The Hand of Glory' [152], and of the severe, stereotyped old maid he tended to use in satires on women's rights. Not only is she blind, but deaf and lame too, requiring the assistance of both an ear trumpet and a crutch.

As this latter version suggests, Tenniel adapted his Justice iconography in relation to context. In his ten-book epic The Course of Time (1857), the Scots Calvinist poet Robert Pollok denounces those who hunger for power:

> Many the roads they took, the plans they tried;
> And awful oft the wickedness they wrought.
> To be observed, some scrambled up to thrones,
> And sat in vestures dripping wet with gore.

For these lines Tenniel depicts a a malevolent tyrant usurping the throne of justice [63a]; Justice herself is a fettered figure at his feet; her scales have fallen to the floor, while her conqueror grasps her sword in a threatening manner. Mercy for him does not exist: imprisonment and death in the form of a jailer with his keys and an executioner with his axe stand in the shadows on either side; the lunette section below indicates a further result of tyranny, while the back of the throne forms the familiar symmetrical arch shape as in the Tupper design. When Justice reappears with Mercy later in the poem [65a] she is no longer oppressed, but awaits God's judgment of mankind:

> Heaven's trampled justice girds itself for fight;
> Earth, to thy knees, and cry for mercy!

Justice, frowning, stands with a sword in her right hand, her scales out of balance in her left, while Mercy weeps in the shadows, unable to do more for sinful mankind; in place of a throne Tenniel surrounds the two angelic figures with cloud.

Tenniel's Justice figures sometimes suggest dynamic activity. While not a justice figure as such, his design for Tupper's 'Of Faith' [57], a lengthy discussion on secular and spiritual achievement, is clearly based on his Westminster

cartoon; here he depicts a statuesquely heroic Joan of Arc, one of the 'heroines ... [who] fought in earthly faith', standing on high ground with sword and flag, a town behind her and her soldiers grouped below her. More athletic still is the figure in his illustration to a poem from the Emblems of Francis Quarles, in L.B. White's anthology English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time (1864) [150]. Based on a passage from the Book of Job, the poem is a devout commentary on mankind's inability to hide from God: 'O that Thou wouldest hide me in the grave, that Thou wouldest keep me secret, until Thy wrath be past.' Quarles paraphrases this in his opening lines:

> OH, whither shall I fly? what path untrod
> Shall I seek out to 'scape the flaming rod
> Of my offended, of my angry God?

and Tenniel depicts his Justice with 'her fiery darts' and 'stern-browed Vengeance' having left her throne behind to pursue a guilty, fleeing man, her scales clutched to her bosom and a sword of flame in her hand, thus reflecting the immediacy of God's presence.[98] This more active figure also appears in Punch: 'Justice' (September 1857) [234a] depicts her in the midst of battle, aiming a blow at Indian mutineers, while equally vengeful on the domestic front she brandishes a cat o'nine tails in 'The Demon "Rough"' (October 1874) to punish a calibanic, woman-beating bully.

As in this last cartoon, the justice figure appears in a highly-charged domestic context in a scene from Barry Cornwall's 'Ludovico Sforza' (Dramatic Scenes, 1857). This scene concerns an act of revenge, whereby Isabella poisons Sforza for murdering

her husband, and to avoid his unwelcome advances [67c]. Tenniel depicts the horrified villain starting up from his chair, his goblet fallen to the floor, one hand grasping the chair arm, the fingers of his other hand held rigid [67d]. Isabella stands to one side, her back to the table; her expression is one of cold anger as she grips the folds of her dress and the corner of the table, a figure of, in this case, rough justice. In a similar context, a poignant example of injustice is the unfortunate Duchess de Guise in Barham's 'The Tragedy', seated in statuesque silence before her accusing husband [155a]; based on Gower's play Catherine of Cleves, the tale ends in the deaths of the unfaithful wife, her lover, and her page.

A less serious justice figure is the angry St Ermengarde in 'The Lay of St Odille' [154b], a parody of Albrecht Dürer's 'The Assumption of the Virgin' (from The Life of the Virgin) of 1510. This saintly apparition, centrally placed on elevated if slightly sloping ground, frowns down at Odille's astonished pursuers and scolds the girl's father for trying to force his daughter to marry against her will. Above Ermengarde's head is an arching semicircle of putti, while in her hands she holds a palm branch and rosary in place of sword and scales. Similarly, for 'Sir Rupert the Fearless', the jilted mermaid queen Lurline, elevated on the crest of a wave, swoops down like a kind of anti-Hymen to drown everyone at Sir Rupert's wedding ceremony [157]; in place of the usual justiciary hardware she brandishes a piece of seaweed, while the church building above and behind her conveniently forms a gothic arch.

This latter figure, with her stern features and streaming hair, is a romantic one, used in the cartoons to express patriotic strength and defiance against oppression. When Poland was threatened by Russia in early 1863 a total of three cartoons depicted her as a fiercely independent female, standing up for her rights, breaking free from her chains and fighting back.[99] In 1870 it was the turn of France: 'France, Sept. 4, 1870' (September 1870) pictures a female figure standing by a cannon with the Republican flag; her arms raised, she quotes from the Marseillaise: "aux armes, citoyens ...". Defeated the following March, she lies on the ground in '"Vae Victis!"' (March 1871) as a Prussian horseman steps over her. Years later the same figure represents the Republic on an occasion of public grief, in a somewhat more active way than that of Britannia mourning over a departed leader: '"Vive la République!"' (July 1894) [306a] expresses Punch's sympathy on the assassination of President Carnot by an Italian anarchist. Interestingly, the snake iconography of Tenniel's Spirit of Justice [1a], itself echoing Moritz Retzsch's 1828 Hamlet outline [2a], is used now to represent the specific evil of anarchy; the accompanying verse reads:

> The tear that brimmeth, blindeth not her eye,
> So fixed aloft it lowereth not to greet
> The writhing reptile bruised by her unfaltering feet!

Paradoxically, this type of figure could be subtly transformed into a virago to represent the more negative forces of war, revolution and anarchy, a recurring bête noire of the late nineteenth century. The two figures appear side by side as good

and bad alternatives in 'Monsieur Hamlet' (December 1872) [265a], while in the 'Temptation of the Good St. Gladstone' (January 1886) [293a] the ugly embodiment of Separation and Irish Home Rule presents a beautiful but deceptive mask. Undisguised in 'The Order of the Day; or, Unions and Fenians' (October 1867) [249], the central towering figure is Murder, spurring on Fenians and English working men alike to terrorism; her symbols are a burning brand and a dagger, while under her feet, instead of the serpent of the 'good' female figure, she tramples the law and the scales of justice.[100]

She is also used as a criticism of dangerous excursion trains in Harry Cholmondeley-Pennell's 'How we got to the Brighton Review' (Puck on Pegasus, 1868), which satirises the uncaring greed of the railway companies in putting passengers' lives at risk. Similar criticisms can be found in the pages of Punch, and it is appropriate that Tenniel was chosen to provide such an illustration, which could just as easily have appeared as one of his political cartoons. He depicts a symbolic female figure, Dividend, with wild, flowing hair; the dark shape of a tunnel behind her, she holds moneybags in her raised hands, while under her feet lies the debris of a crashed train with bodies half-buried under broken wooden shafts. To conclude the poem Pennell employs a burlesque style for his Chorus of Directors:

> With our slap dash, crack crash,
> And here and there a glorious smash,
> And a hundred killed and wounded! -
> It's little we jolly Directors care
> For a passenger's limbs if he pays his fare,
> So away you go at a florin the pair:
> The signal whistle has sounded!

Tenniel's virago type came to appear more and more regularly in the cartoons, and tyrannical leaders were seen to be particularly vulnerable to her. In '"Aut Caesar, Aut Nihil!"' (May 1879), four fury-like masked viragoes armed with knives make ready to assassinate the German Kaiser; similarly, in 'Imperium et Libertas!' (February 1880) [280], three ghostly, masked women hover behind the Russian Tzar while another, wearing the revolutionary cap, crouches to ignite a cache of explosives in the lunette-shaped dungeon of Nihilism below the imperial throne. More explicitly, 'The Modern Medusa' (December 1893) [304a] is an example of how Tenniel effectively combined traditional mythology with inherently misogynistic tendencies. It shows an ugly, skinny female with a long serpent's tail, scaly, claw-like hands, and serpents in her hair; an unexploded bomb nearby, she holds up the familiar torch of the anarchist as she succumbs to a Perseus-type hero with right on his side.

Against the simplicity, purity and orderliness of classicism must be set its potential austerity, even severity, and antipathy towards the natural warmth, flourishing organicism and incompleteness of romanticism. This can be felt, for example, in the deliberately chilling 'Waiting to be Won' (June 1875), which depicts a majestic Arctic Queen seated in frozen splendour on a rock, awaiting a British expedition with a mixture of passive femininity and impressive sublimity. The double size of this cartoon, together with the enormous, towering figure of the woman, makes it quite overwhelming as one turns the page.

With its combination of classical coolness and romantic

sensationalism, this latter cartoon shows how the two styles could coexist, and often with dramatic effect. In fact, classical and romantic subjects had been sharing exhibition space in the Royal Academy since the late eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century saw a new development in romanticised classicism. Tenniel's stately female figure is thus a forerunner of many who appear, in various allegorical and romantic guises, in the paintings of William Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Frederic Leighton, Edward Burne-Jones, G.F. Watts, Lawrence Alma-Tadema and Albert Moore, who successfully combined classical themes and settings with a softer, warmer treatment. Similarly well-built females appear in such illustrations as Frederick Sandys' 'The Waiting Time' (1863) [7a] and 'Amor Mundi' (1865) [7b]. As we have seen, Tenniel's own female figure took on this rather Pre-Raphaelite quality during the 1860s, so that the relatively cold figure of justice of his Westminster cartoon and some of his book illustrations took on warmth and life when transformed into the romantic, patriotic figure of later years.

Tenniel's younger Punch colleagues followed the same trend. George du Maurier drew countless versions of his tall 'pretty woman' for the 'social cuts',[101] and made her the central character of his best-known novel, Trilby (1894), while Tenniel's successor as political cartoonist, Linley Sambourne, took her into the twentieth century in the decorative, New-Era style employed also by artists like Walter Crane in 'The Sirens Three' (1886) [8a] and Henry Holiday in the July 1893 cover design for the health magazine Aglaia [8b], which promoted classical

simplicity of clothing.

As we have seen, the classical female also appears in some of Tenniel's book illustrations, adapting particularly well to literature which hovers on the borderline between symbolism and reality. The mother figure in his design to Tupper's 'Of Education' [56] is a typically statuesque example, not far removed from the 'real' statue in his illustration to Walter Thornbury's 'Clytè' (1863) [133b], and echoed in his emotionally-charged watercolour Pygmalion and the Statue (1878). Another excellent example is his dramatic illustration to Adelaide Anne Procter's 'A Legend of Bregenz' [185] in her popular collection of poetry, Legends and Lyrics (1858-61), in 1865.[102] The central figure is a plucky young heroine, whose midnight gallop to warn her native Tyrolean city of an imminent Austrian invasion is echoed in the headlong rhythm of the poem as the girl keeps one step ahead of the advancing army. Having crossed the turbulent waters of the Rhine, she sees the lights of the town in the distance, and:

> They reach the gate of Bregenz,
> Just as the midnight rings,
> And out come serf and soldier
> To meet the news she brings.

Before daylight the town is defended and the invasion averted. Tenniel shows the girl on a white horse at the gate of the town, pointing back towards the approaching Austrian army. Her exaggerated gesture and facial expression are typically theatrical, while the partially armed men of Bregenz stand grouped round her as in a carefully staged tableau. Tenniel's

lighting is effective: the flickering torches create sharply contrasted areas of light and shade, illuminating the girl's face while leaving the townsmen in partial darkness as if to symbolise her knowledge, and their ignorance, of impending danger.

For contemporary subjects, too, Tenniel's classical leanings are evident, the Arundel sisters in Brooks' The Gordian Knot [97a] being a particularly striking example. And Tenniel's most famous female figure, Alice, is quite obviously classical in conception, while in one early episode he combines asymmetry of composition with the familiar architectural framework, set at a lower level than usual to suggest the cramped space of the Hall of Tears [171c].

Tenniel never veered from his obstinate adherence to classical line and solid three-dimensionality in his portrayal of the human figure. His ideal female figure was clearly the Italianate, and later Pre-Raphaelite type, with her wavy hair, large forehead and eyes, small nose and even smaller mouth, reminiscent of the statuesque figures who graced public monuments throughout Europe. What makes Tenniel's employment of this figure so interesting is the fact that she appears throughout his career in so many different guises, adapted to a variety of symbolic and realistic contexts, both in the political cartoons and in the book illustrations.

Mythology

Tenniel's enjoyment of classical literature, linked as it was with his experience as an artist, was reinforced by the public-school background of several of his Punch colleagues. In

collaboration with them he transformed numerous classical myths into political cartoons, thus breathing new and exuberant life into the dusty old tales very much as Jacques Offenbach was doing in his operettas Orphée aux Enfers (1858) and La Belle Hélène (1864). Leading figures of the day were thus represented in such heroic personas as Hercules, Perseus and Achilles, to serious or comic effect. Even when an element of satire is present, as is frequently the case, Tenniel's pure lines and classical symbolism ensure a mellowness of humour, giving a deeper, more universal dimension to topical events. Such treatment must have made readers feel comfortable and reassured, while the nobly-drawn British Lion must have made Englishmen feel proud of their country. In addition to the cartoons themselves, Tenniel contributed to the yearly Punch Pocket-Book, a diary with the usual calendar and other useful details, whose illustration often had a unifying 'theme'; in 1859 this was a classical one, so that Tenniel's decorative work consists of humorous, classical-style line drawings.

Mr Punch himself plays an active part in the magazine that bears his name, appearing with comic arrogance and self-congratulatory manner in comic initials and other decorative work, title pages and cartoons. This rather theatrical kind of self-promotion emphasises his claims to being a controller and presenter of events, as if to say 'Look what I can do!'[103] Some of this takes place in a classical context, which lends him an aura of mock dignity as he assumes the role of a modern-day Atlas, a charioteer, a high-class Roman complete with toga and

laurels or, in an 1859 title page (Vol. 37) [236b], a comic Roman horseman about to skewer with his pen the monster-donkey of Humbug and Folly. Mr Punch's egotism becomes explicit in Tenniel's 'Punchius Imperator' (1877 Almanack) in which he leads a grand procession from his chariot, while in 'Punchius Claudian!' (1885 Almanack) he is set upon a dais. The double-page 'Punchius Phoebus, the Great Universal Hypnotiser' (1891 Almanack) shows a deified Punch-Apollo supervising and ordering the action from a chariot; his assumed hold over the entire world is suggested as the new-born 'baby' 1891 replaces the Old Year, and MPs and others applaud the great 'transformation scene'.

As in the case of the allegorical female, mythological figures are used to represent abstractions. A bedraggled, fat old Neptune in 'A Word to the Mermaids' (August 1865) tells his companions not to swing on the newly-laid transatlantic telegraph cable in case they break it, and reappears in '"Under the Dark Blue Waters"' (May 1872) [263a] to complain that noisy squabbles between England and America, transmitted along the same cable, are disturbing his Whitsun holiday. While Neptune is a convenient spokesman on the performance of the Royal Navy, Vulcan manufactures an endless battery of weapons; they appear together in a toast to the Queen on the occasion of a naval review, in 'Spithead, July 23rd 1887' (July 1887) [297b].[104] This comic juxtaposition of mythological figures with modern technology is similarly exploited in a double-page burlesque, 'Prometheus Unbound, or Science in Olympus' (1879 Almanack), in which Vulcan watches, puzzled, as a mechanical hammer cracks an egg, Jupiter

is dazzled by electric light, Mercury rides a pennyfarthing bicycle and Bacchus drinks coffee.

Classical themes could on occasion be used to more serious purpose. '"The Sisters Three"' (October 1888) [298b], with a side-glance at Michelangelo's painting, depicts the Triple Alliance between Italy, Austria and Germany as Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos holding in their hands the fate of Europe. In this way a cartoon's classical context could lend weight to its message, and this is equally true where contemporary personalities are concerned. Cast in the character of Hercules, Atlas, Hector, Orestes, Perseus, Ulysses, Ajax, Achilles, Pegasus, Endymion, Actaeon, Sisyphus and Janus, they are given either a noble or a parodic treatment depending upon the political slant required. Gladstone is presented as a noble hero in the impressive, double-page 'Hercules and the Hydra' (February 1870) [258] in which he confronts the many parliamentary issues undergoing debate; one need only compare this portrayal with that of Lord Salisbury in 'The Hampton Hydra' (March 1873) [266a] to identify Punch's political bias: whereas Gladstone is muscular and almost superhuman, Salisbury appears mildly ridiculous in a combination of animal skin and peer's crown as he confronts a grotesquely comic metal hydra representing the Chelsea Waterworks Company.[105] The Tory leader is marginally more heroic in 'Salisbury Sisyphus' (April 1887) [296b], in which he rolls the rock of Irish Difficulty up the parliamentary hill.[106]

This ambivalent attitude towards the politicians of the day was not unusual, and Gladstone himself did not escape satirical

treatment at times: the magazine did not hesitate for example to play upon the fact that he was an avid reader of Homer.[107] Disraeli is almost always treated satirically, but both he and the Liberal leader appear to equal disadvantage as Disralius and Gladstonius in 'The Two Augurs' (February 1873) [265b], a comment on their ceremonial seriousness at the inauguration of the parliamentary session. Although Disraeli is portrayed as the more facetious of the two, the implication is that Gladstone's solemn expression is just as dissembling.[108]

The prevailing treatment of Gladstone was, however, respectful, and because of his pioneering zeal he was frequently portrayed as a battling hero.[109] He reappears as Hercules in 'Strangling the Monster' (February 1881) [282b], his ugly, three-headed Cerberus-like opponent representing the Irish Land League. As in the case of the ugly virago, such monster iconography was useful for unpleasant abstractions; it reappears in 'Bellerophon Junior' (September 1886) [295a], a tongue-in-cheek satire on an unpopular Chancellor of the Exchequer, Randolph Churchill, who pledges somewhat melodramatically to investigate administrative expenditure.[110] The Perseus and Andromeda myth was popular too: in 'The French Andromeda; or, Wanted, a Perseus' (February 1883) [285b] a telling space on the left emphasises the absence of a hero to combat the threatening 'red-gorged monster' of Anarchy.[111]

Tenniel's interest in Shakespeare meant that he sometimes made one of the Roman plays a basis for a cartoon. Particularly ingenious in this category is 'A "Terrible Warning"' (March

1886), in which Churchill as the Soothsayer warns Julius Caesar-Gladstone to 'Beware the Ides of March', the latter having chosen that date to discuss the Irish question. Classical allusion was also applied to the topic of women's suffrage, a controversial subject on which Punch took every opportunity to express its opposition. On one occasion it found convenient support for its views in the myth of Phaeton, who came to grief when he took over Apollo's chariot for a day. Tenniel's double-page 'Mrs. John Phaëton' (April 1870) is a perfect example of the way in which classical mythology could be adapted to uphold and reinforce a pet ideology: it depicts Mrs Bull taking over her husband's chariot, drawn by the three white horses of Legislation, Foreign Affairs and Taxation, while he is left minding the baby.[112]

On a general political level, the Games of Athens or of Ancient Rome are used to represent parliamentary business with the inevitable element of conflict and competition between the two main parties.[113] MPs thus appear as charioteers hurtling round an arena, or as warriors limbering up for the fight. 'Gladiators preparing for the Arena' (February 1867) is a typical example, while in '"Morituri te Salutant!"' (February 1880) [279] all swear allegiance to Victoria before launching into 'the last fight of the Seven', otherwise known as the final parliamentary session.

Many such cartoons are drawn in an overtly serious, academic manner: indeed, Morris identifies three parodies of classical subjects in Tenniel's cartoons, namely of Gérôme's Cleopatra

Before Caesar (1866) and "Pollice Verso" (1874) and of Haydon's Curtius Leaping into the Gulf (1836-42).[114] An early masterpiece of this kind, though not perhaps a direct parody of an earlier painting, is 'Orestes Pursued by the Furies' (June 1858) [235b], which shows the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, being chased by the politicians Bright, Disraeli and Roebuck. Ten years later, on Disraeli's political defeat, came the double-page 'Ixion out of Heaven' (December 1868) [253]; a satirical reference to his recently published Ixion in Heaven, it shows him undergoing Ixion's torture and being pushed out of heaven by Hercules-Bright, watched by the victorious Gladstone as Zeus, Britannia as Hera, and Mr Punch as a comic Minerva.[115] It is cartoons like these which form the pinnacle of Tenniel's achievement in the classical cartoon style.

NOTES TO PART I

Monumental Art

86. See Keith Andrews, The Nazarenes. A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

87. Art Journal, Vol. XII, 1850, p.16.

88. Illustrated London News, 29 November 1851, 13 and 27 December.

Allegory and the Female Figure

89. Its thirty artists, who included Kenny Meadows, G. Scharf, H. O'Neil, H.K. Browne and F.R. Pickersgill, contributed one illustration each. The choice of these twin poems, while not an unusual one, offered the artists a wide variety of subject and mood, and the book as a whole displays a lively mixture of classical and romantic styles, Meadows' 'Shakespeare' design [49] being a particularly good example of the latter.

90. A copy is held in the Witt Library Print Collection, from a lithograph by John Alfred Vinter after Tenniel's design.

91. In sculpture and painting alike Britannia appears with her 'pet' British Lion. See also 'May 10, 1893' (May 1893) in which she forms part of Mr Punch's vision at the opening of the Imperial Institute.

92. For Mr Punch as Hymen see 'The Latest in "Russia Bonds"' (January 1874), 'Settled at Last!' (November 1875) and '"Hymen Hymenaee!"' (July 1893).

93. The idea recurs in 'The "Divided Skirt"' (April 1886); see also 'Dressing the Window' (August 1886). An earlier example (February 1857) shows Britannia arguing over a cab fare to the Bank of England; forty years later transport is again the topic in 'Shunted!!' (December 1897), in which she expresses her pleasure that a threatened railway strike has been avoided.

94. A similar juxtaposition with Gladstone arises in 'Ruling the Waves (?)' (October 1884).

95. In '"Pax Vobiscum!"' (January 1878) she stands with the 1878 baby to watch the stooping old figure of 1877 (a troublesome year) limp away on a crutch, his hand raised in farewell.

96. See also '"Piping Times of Peace!"' (December 1898).

97. Justice is blindfold again in 'Arbitration better than

Emigration' (April 1865). See also 'A Row in Court' (June 1868) and 'Excessive Bail' (February 1871) and, on the Dreyfus Affair, 'At Last!' (June 1899) and 'After the Trial' (September 1899).

98. As their title suggests, the Emblems were written to accompany existing woodcuts; the original woodcut to this poem depicted a rather plump angel in the sky, hurling a dart down at a fleeing man. Tenniel improves on this by bringing his Justice down to earth.

99. See 'A Growl for Poland' (February 1863), 'Poland's Chain-Shot' (March 1863), and 'The Amnesty' (April 1863).

100. The figures of Bellona and Revolution appear in the ironically titled '"God Save the King!"' (May 1898). See also 'The American Juggernaut' (September 1864), '"Onward!"' (January 1870), 'On the Brink' (October 1898), and 'Arming the Amazons' (December 1891).

101. Du Maurier discusses his and Millais' portrayal of the 'pretty woman' in 'The Illustrating of Books. From the serious artist's point of view', The Magazine of Art, 1890, pp.371-2. He does not comment on Tenniel's portrayal of women, probably because they fall outside the 'realistic' scope of his essay.

102. Adelaide Anne Procter (1825-1864) was the daughter of Bryan Waller Procter, who was also illustrated by Tenniel; her works achieved enormous sales, rivalling those of Tennyson. The 1865 quarto edition of Legends and Lyrics, with an Introduction by Charles Dickens, was published in November 1865 in time for the Christmas market, and sold so well that a December reprint was needed. It contains twenty designs in total, Tenniel's fellow-artists including Punch colleagues George du Maurier and Charles Keene, as well as W.T.C. Dobson ARA, Samuel Palmer, George Thomas and J.D. Watson; the other artists were W.H. Millais, W.P. Burton, Lorenz Frohlich, J.M. Carrick, M. Ellen Edwards and T. Morten; the engravings were by Horace Harral.

Mythology

103. Morris too (pp.38-9) recognises Mr Punch's arrogant and not entirely pleasant nature.

104. Other portrayals of Neptune include 'Neptune's Warning' (October 1875) and 'A Message from the Sea' (December 1893); he appears with Vulcan in 'Vulcan Arming Neptune' (April 1862). Vulcan appears in 'Vulcan in the Sulks' (March 1865), 'Vulcan's Best Customer' (September 1866), 'Who's To Blame?' (September 1875), and '"Money No Object!"' (February 1896). Hermes is employed as a postman

in '"Advance, Australia!"' (July 1898).

105. For another comic metal hydra see '"Hercules (County) Concilians"' (October 1890).

106. Campbell Bannerman later struggles with an Opposition boulder in 'The New Sisyphus' (October 1900).

107. See '"My Old Friend Homer"' (December 1872), 'A Deplorable Sceptic' (April 1873), 'Homer in Wales' (August 1873), and '"Over the Hills and Far Away!"' (September 1893).

108. See also 'Augurs at Fault' (August 1876).

109. Gladstone takes on a wide variety of classical images. See for example 'Pegasus Unharnessed' (July 1865), 'Ajax Defying the Lightning' (July 1871), 'The Colossus of Words' (December 1879), and 'Actaeon and his Hounds' (June 1886).

110. For other Cerberus figures see 'A Sop to Cerberus' (December 1872) and 'Orpheus-Bismarck Lulls Cerberus to Sleep' (October 1889).

111. See also 'Garibaldi The Liberator; or, the Modern Perseus' (June 1860).

112. See also 'Phoebus Counsels Phaëton' (February 1877).

113. See for example 'Our "Isthmian Games;" or, a Gladstonian "Derby"' (May 1873), 'National Spring Meeting, 1874. The Final Heat' (February 1874), '"Our Opening Day"' after Guido's Aurora (March 1874), 'An Isthmian Game' (August 1883), and 'Our "Olympic Games"' (April 1896).

114. Morris, Appendix A, pp.317-8. The cartoons are, respectively, 'Cleopatra Before Caesar' (October 1882), 'Waiting the Signal' (October 1896), and 'Churchillius; or an Alarming Sacrifice' (February 1887).

115. Disraeli's later novel, Endymion, brought him in for further satire: see 'Endymion' (December 1880) and 'Twelfth-Night at St. Stephen's' (January 1881).

## II ROMANTICISM

### Introduction

The term Romanticism is a wide-ranging one which requires some definition in its relation to Tenniel's work. From the point of view of the literature he was illustrating, three main areas can be identified as being romantic in character: the renewal of interest in the distant and often mythical past, giving rise in particular to the painting and exhibition of historical subjects and to the publication of ballad literature; tales of the supernatural, involving ghosts, fairies, mermaids, monsters, or other non-human beings, written with the intention of invoking in the reader a sense of wonder, excitement or horror; and subjects of a macabre or 'gothic' nature, involving death and decay.

As William Vaughan has shown in his German Romanticism and English Art (1979),[116] these three interests were strongly influenced by early nineteenth-century German literature and the art which accompanied it, in particular the Retzschian outline style and the revival of the decorated page. Both of these styles were employed in Germany and Britain alike in the illustration of the kind of romantic literature noted above, and it is Tenniel's employment of these styles which has been the criterion for the choice of examples in this section.

A distinction has been drawn between Early and Later Romanticism, since a visible change took place in the style of book illustration around the late 1840s, and the section as a whole ranges freely between all three of the literary categories: ballad literature, the supernatural, and the macabre.

## Early Romanticism: The Forties

### Ballad Literature

As Tenniel's Westminster fresco deteriorated, the number of books containing his illustrations increased. Many of these, beginning with his contributions in 1842 to the Book of British Ballads [13], were romantic in style and subject, reflecting the neoclassical outline style popularised by Moritz Retzsch, and the rediscovered decorated page technique.

Retzsch, whose illustrations to Faust and Hamlet [2a] were well known in England from the late 1820s, owed much to the classically-drawn lines and almost tangible three-dimensionality of the sixteenth-century artist and draughtsman, Albrecht Dürer. Retzsch's simplicity of line and avoidance of shading results in a design of classical purity, in contrast to some of the more painterly, heavily-shaded illustrations of the period. Tenniel was using the style while still in his teens, for example in a mid-1830s historical sketch entitled Charles I and His Family.[117]

Retzsch's influence in England led to the first of a series of outline competitions, advertised by the Art-Union of London between 1842 and 1846. Tenniel was one of thirty artists to respond in October 1842, with a set of designs based on the story of Griselda from Boccaccio's Decameron; the winner was Henry C. Selous, with a series on Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. The direct influence of Retzsch on Tenniel's Justice fresco design has already been noted; besides this, the simple outline style remained central to Tenniel's illustrative and cartoon work throughout his career, frequently as a means of suggesting

historical distance or timeless significance.

The emphasis on historicism during the nineteenth century cannot be overestimated. From the viewpoint of an industrialised and increasingly materialistic nineteenth century, it was the medieval period in particular that caught the artistic imagination: it seemed an idyllic time, a golden age of simplicity and social harmony during which spiritual values were of the highest importance. All of this was, of course, an idealisation, an escapism on the part of those who were uneasy about their way of life in an essentially utilitarian era of smoke, factories and manufacturing, bringing with them their twin end products, dirt and money.

Medievalism was inextricably linked with the gothic style in art and architecture, with its basis in the shapes of the natural world: the gracefully pointed arches of a cathedral like Notre Dame in Paris resembling the branches of two trees meeting, the rose window providing a decorative focal point. The originally derogatory term 'gothic', used in the sixteenth century for a seemingly over-elaborate, anti-classical style, took on a more positive, aesthetic meaning from the time of the so-called Gothic Revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Architecture was the most enduring, public form of gothic art; alongside it existed the more ephemeral, private forms: paintings, tapestries, furniture, jewellery, and illuminated and illustrated books. Such books could be studied in the British Museum and elsewhere, and their influence was enormous, leading to a revival in the decorated page technique, with its balance of

text and illustration. The decorated page was pioneered by German artists in the early years of the nineteenth century, the combination of text and design having been facilitated by the revival of the wood engraving process whereby an entire page could be printed in one operation by the fixing together of separate blocks.

Historical subjects for illustration abounded during the 1840s. The imaginary medieval past had been conjured up since the latter part of the eighteenth century, with a revival of interest in ancient folk tales, sagas and ballad literature; these were passed down through oral tradition, collected by various editors, then published and illustrated for popular consumption. Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765) was an early collection, followed in the nineteenth century by Sir Walter Scott's pioneering Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (1802-3), his own introduction to the 1830 edition triggering off the academic study of the ballad in Britain. Another milestone was the reprinting of Malory's Morte d'Arthur, with its imaginary, heroic king, in 1816: it influenced Romantic poets such as Keats and Coleridge, while later in the century Tennyson wrote his epic Idylls of the King (1857-85), and from the 1850s onwards the Pre-Raphaelites chose Arthurian subjects for their paintings.

The demand for ballads became so great that new material was sometimes written and passed off as authentic. This vogue for the literature of the past was fed by an upsurge in patriotism: the ballad's context is typically nationalistic, serving to

reaffirm a sense of Britain's long history of independence and resilience in response to such disruptive events as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. At the same time, Irish writers and artists were establishing a renewed national identity through the exploration of their celtic background, as exemplified by Thomas Moore's expression of nostalgia for Ireland's heroic past in his Irish Melodies (1807 onwards), illustrated in 1845 by his fellow-countryman Daniel Maclise.

German artists, too, were illustrating books under the influence of historical styles and subjects. A prime example is Peter Cornelius' frontispiece design to Goethe's Faust (1816) [10a], its decorative and outline elements influenced by the publication, in 1808, of Dürer's marginal decorations of 1575 for the Emperor Maximilian's prayerbook [10b]. This was followed in 1840 by the Leipzig Nibelungenlied, a quarto-sized book full of fine illustrations, of particular influence on such English artists as John Franklin, Henry Selous, Daniel Maclise and Tenniel himself. One of the most accomplished designs in the book is Alfred Rethel's 'Wie Iring erschlagen ward' [14]; this shows a characteristically teutonic demarcation of text and design, as well as reflecting a typical use of the outline style.

The Book of British Ballads (1842-44), to which Tenniel contributed his first designs, was consciously modelled on the Leipzig volume, and dedicated by its editor to King Ludwig of Bavaria under whom so much monumental and illustrative art had been produced. Still in his early twenties in 1842, and three years before his training under Cornelius, Tenniel was still

feeling his way as an artist, but even in this early commission he shows competence in composition and in integration of design and text. Unlike some of his fellow-illustrators he employs extremely simple outlines with the minimum of shading. Aesthetics apart, however, there was one very practical reason for this: Tenniel was a young and relatively inexperienced illustrator; not only had he several pages of designs to produce, all within a relatively restricted space, he was also required to draw every detail in reverse image onto the hard end of a wood block in order for the engraver, John Bastin, to cut away the areas that were to remain uninked during the printing process. In addition to this, the book originally appeared in serialised monthly parts, so that there would be little flexibility as far as the publishing deadline was concerned.

Many of the Ballads designs show the influence of the Nibelungenlied. Rethel's layout is imitated by Tenniel in 'King Estmere' [13], by R.R. McIan in 'Lord Soulis' [15], and by Franklin in 'Genevieve' [16a]; indeed, Franklin's page with its two fighting men could be a direct echo of Rethel's. These three British examples demonstrate how the placing of the opening text in the lower right-hand corner effectively guides the reader into the story, while a page from Franklin's 'Chevy-Chace' [16b], with its two vertical panels for text and design, shows how the central pages of each ballad were divided.

All in all, the book is a fine example of illustrated ballad literature, containing the work of many of the promising artists of the day.[118] It was published by Jeremiah How between 1842 and

1844, and subsequently in two quarto-sized volumes in 1843 and 1844, costing one guinea each. This was clearly a luxury price in the early 1840s, a particularly lean and restless time in Britain, with its Anti-Corn Law and Chartist agitation. The revival of these old stories of patriotism, chivalry, love, and death, accompanied by beautifully drawn pictures of knights on horseback, heroes and villains, fair ladies, castles and forests, all set in a medieval, fairytale world, must have cast a rosy glow over Britain's past, making it seem reassuringly stable despite its battles and tragic deaths. Anyone fortunate enough at the time to have access to this book must have found it a welcome relief from everyday worries and concerns.

The book's editor was Samuel Carter Hall (1800-1889), the English journalist who founded the Art-Union of London's influential Art Journal in 1839 and remained its editor until his retirement in 1880.[119] Tenniel and he may first have met at one of John Martin's weekly evening receptions.[120] Hall was a thorough man, never sparing of trouble or expense; for the book he employed the services of a large number of engravers and artists, some of the latter, like Tenniel, illustrating only one ballad. Hall includes introductory pages full of scholarly detail, plus, when possible, a ballad's original melody. An expensive gift book in the 1840s, the Ballads did not depreciate in value, Hall writing of it in 1883:

> The first edition is eagerly sought after, brings a large price whenever offered for sale, and will be hereafter accepted as one of the Art books of the century.[121]

The volume's success owed much to Hall's careful coordination of the work of his chosen artists, as well as to their talent. He achieved this by holding a number of evening meetings at his Kensington home, where books and prints were available for study. Hall read the ballads aloud to the assembled artists and handed each one over, together with woodblocks, to the chosen individual. John Franklin, who contributed the largest number of illustrations, assisted in ensuring uniformity of layout and size.

It is an indication of Tenniel's relative obscurity at this time that on the first two pages of his designs his name is spelt 'Tenniell' - presumably a slip of the engraver's - but this has been corrected by the third page. The stone slab and decorative foliage in the foreground of his opening page [13] (which may have been added, or amended, by Franklin, it is so much in his style) serve to lead the eye into the depiction of Estmere and his brother Adler as they arrive at the castle of the elderly King Adland; a waist-high section of wall on the right supplies the necessary space for the first two stanzas. Tenniel's developing talent is already evident here: his figure drawing becomes more confident later, but his animals are already well done.

Tenniel's designs, which occupy ten pages of the book, accompany a story of a royal betrothal whose nationalistic bias reflects a certain insularity that came with the renewed interest in Britain's supposedly glorious past. An element of conflict is provided in the character of the Spanish King Bremor, who is seen

to threaten not only the lives and the peace of the English people but also their religion, while King Estmere of England, by contrast, is shown to be a man of honour and chivalry who is not intimidated by Spanish aggression.

Tenniel's first panel design portrays Estmere and his brother seated at a table, discussing Estmere's possible marriage to King Adland's daughter. As in his opening design, he employs a device to direct the eye: a dog, seated in the foregound with its back to the viewer, looks up at the two men, while a foretaste of future combat is represented by a half-symbolic, half-decorative grouping of helmet and gauntlets. The unusually tall, narrow area of these panels must have been something of a constraint, and in two of his designs Tenniel fills the space, appropriately enough, with a staircase. The central figure of the first of these is Adland's daughter who, followed by an escort of knights and ladies, descends to meet Estmere. Her father, his right foot resting on the first step, extends his left hand towards his guests and the viewer, while with the other he helps the princess down. A further staircase is employed, as if to balance the first, for the penultimate illustration, which depicts the climactic fight scene; this staircase's spiral shape lends drama to the struggle as the two English brothers fight off Bremor's soldiers, some of whom fall backwards toward the viewer.

The final illustration, a full-page design with the two remaining stanzas in the top right, matches the opening one. Estmere has married the princess and is taking her home, and Tenniel shows a long horseback procession, marching on towards

the reader as if into the future, with the castle in the background. Estmere and his bride, looking contentedly at each other, are at its head; Adler and Adland accompany them, together with an escort of ladies and knights. To create a sense of depth and distance, numerous lances and flags are raised, their size gradually diminishing into the background. The ballad thus ends with the hero victorious, and the future of the English throne made more secure through judicious marriage.

Tenniel's Munich training in 1845, while it reinforced his use of outline, also contributed towards a greater maturity of technique, for his illustrations from this time show a greater sense of three-dimensional solidity with a more adventurous use of shading. It is possible to see the change by looking at some of the contributions he made to James Burns' Fireside Library between 1845 and 1848. Burns (1808-71) started the Library in around 1844, and by 1847 his list carried thirty-five titles, many of them books for children, the prices ranging from sixpence to four shillings and sixpence. Tenniel contributed to six of these: in 1845 he provided a frontispiece to The Children in the Wood, which formed part of a three-volume set entitled The Book of Nursery Tales, A Keepsake for the Young, a frontispiece to F. von Schiller's William Tell, and a set of illustrations to Baron F.H.C. De La Motte Fouqué's Undine; in 1846 a frontispiece to Fouqué's The Magic Ring and illustrations to Poems and Pictures; and in 1848 illustrations to The Juvenile Verse and Picture Book. While his frontispiece to William Tell, presumably drawn before Munich, is in little more than simple outlines, his designs to

Undine, discussed in a later section, are far more interesting because of his selective and occasionally complex use of shading, as are the designs of 1846 and 1848.[122]

The anthology Poems and Pictures (1846), another book of ballad literature, was an octavo-sized giftbook published by Burns for Christmas 1845. Containing nearly one hundred illustrations by numerous artists, including some of Tenniel's 1842 fellow-illustrators,[123] it was priced at two guineas, and its immediate success necessitated a second edition in 1846. The title is a clear acknowledgement of its German model, Lieder und Bilder (Düsseldorf, 1839-43), a jointly-illustrated volume of poems in the decorated page style. William Thackeray notes this connection in a review for the Morning Chronicle,[124] while in Fraser's Magazine he calls it

> the very best of Christmas books. ... The solemn and beautiful forms of the figures ... affect one like music. Pictures and songs are surrounded by beautiful mystical arabesques, waving and twining round each page. Every now and then you light upon one which is so pretty, it looks as if you had put a flower between the leaves.[125]

As Vaughan has noted, some of the Lieder und Bilder illustrators swamp their text with over-elaborate designs, Rethel's decorated page [32a] being a comparatively restrained example. Burns' artists are more sparing: William Dyce's 'Ladye Marie' [31], its decorative, panel-style layout reminiscent of the British Ballads, is well balanced and gives practically equal space to text and illustration.

Tenniel's designs show a similar restraint; they accompany four poems: Bürger's 'Song of the Brave Man', Uhland's 'The

Minstrel's Curse', the anonymous 'The Prince and the Outlaw', and Scott's 'Lullaby of an Infant Chief'. The first concerns a peasant who risks his life to save people from a flood; Tenniel opens the poem with a full-page illustration [27a], drawing the eye in by the figure of the man in his boat, being swept from right to left by the swirling floodwater as he hastens to rescue a group of distant, stranded figures. Again, as for 'King Estmere', the wall on the right provides the necessary space for the title of the poem and its opening stanza, whilst at the same time serving as a platform for a group of frightened people waiting to be rescued.

'The Minstrel's Curse' [26] shows a similar compositional balance, and is of additional interest for its celtic style: effectively an amalgamation of neoclassical, statuesque solidity with romantic subject matter. Tenniel draws these austere, stoical warriors from a distant, mysterious past with a cold, classical feeling. (Another, less successful version from 1846 is the rather cluttered frontispiece to Fouqué's The Magic Ring, which includes a similarly robustly-drawn warrior in winged helmet.) 'The Minstrel's Curse' tells of two travelling musicians who play before a hard-hearted king; when the queen is moved by the young minstrel's singing, the king kills him in a jealous rage; the old minstrel prays that music shall never be heard in the castle again, and that the king's name be forgotten, and his prayer is granted. Tenniel shows the angry king and a group of thickset, bearded courtiers in distinctively norse-style winged helmets, at the dramatic moment of the young man's death.

The raised stone platform provides a stage area for the king, queen and courtiers, while the visiting musicians occupy the lower left-hand corner to balance the four-line stanza on the right. Draped round the artificial, almost gothic border is a narrow banner proclaiming the poem's title.

The same maturity is evident in a design of the same year to a tale of chivalry, 'St Michael's Eve' [33], for Sharpe's London Magazine.[126] Tenniel, like older artists such as Daniel Maclise, had spent much of his childhood absorbing details of armour, heraldry and spectacle from books of costume and other historical literature, and both 'The Minstrel's Curse' and 'St Michael's Eve' are comparable in style and subject matter to some of Maclise's designs: the same celtic flavour is evident in the latter's 'Morte d'Arthur' illustration for the 1857 Moxon Tennyson [12b], and a jousting scene for The Princess of 1860 [12c].[127] All of these are notable for the three-dimensional quality of outline and shading, as well as their attention to authentic historical costume detail.

'The Prince and the Outlaw' [28-30], Tenniel's third contribution to Poems and Pictures, was a further opportunity to show his expert knowledge of medieval armour and other costume. For this he provides two full-page designs and two half-page panels, in a layout close to that of the British Ballads. His opening illustration shows the outlaw, Adam de Gordon, leaning against a tree as Edward, the Black Prince, approaches. The text on the right is balanced on the left by a cluster of foxgloves - a favourite decorative device of Tenniel's - pointing upward to

the outlaw and linking below with a more artificial motif, a unifying device which is repeated on all four pages. The central action of the poem is visible at one glance on the inner two pages, which face each other in mirror image. Both sets of designs are enclosed by the same decorative border and arabesque: the left-hand panel shows Edward's swift defeat of Gordon, while on the right he is shown magnanimously helping the wounded man up onto his horse. Tenniel makes effective use of the horse in these two panels, its attentive gaze serving to indicate the focal point of each scene. The final illustration depicts the moment of reconciliation between Gordon and the royal family, the concluding lines of text being given in the upper left-hand corner. An interesting symbolic device is the long lance intertwined with leaves and branches in the lower border, suggestive of the peaceful laying aside of weapons, an idea complemented by the repeated motif in the top right bearing the chivalric word 'Amitie'.

Finally, Tenniel's design to 'Lullaby of an Infant Chief' [27b] contains on a single page the child's infant life, asleep on his mother's lap, and his less peaceful adulthood. The narrow banner on which the poem's title is printed is draped, appropriately, between two clusters of large, ornate spears which section off part of the page for the poem's three stanzas. The latter are all represented in the design: the first corresponds with the picture of mother and infant, the second with the watchman blowing a bugle, and the third with a battlefield on which lands and lives must be defended.

In 1848 Tenniel received a further commission from Burns, for the Juvenile Verse and Picture Book, an informative storybook for children which no doubt perpetuated the romanticisation of particular events in history for future generations.[128] In addition to 'The Prince and the Outlaw', reprinted from the 1846 volume, Tenniel contributed a set of designs to 'The Death of King Henry ye Third', which opens the book. The first page [34], set within a plain wooden picture-frame border, shows the same Prince Edward of the former poem being informed by a messenger of the death of his son. Tenniel divides the design horizontally by means of an effigy on a tomb, upon which the opening stanzas are superimposed. As before, the second and third pages, showing the grief of the queen, are divided into panels for illustration and text.

According to Forrest Reid's catalogue, Burns produced no more illustrated books after 1848. However, other publishers were soon reissuing some of them: Cassells brought out a new edition of Poems and Pictures in 1865, and Frederick Warne the Juvenile Verse and Picture Book in 1866, with Tenniel's name first in the list of illustrators.

While the taste for the decorated page began to wane towards the end of the 1840s, giving way to a more naturalistic treatment, the comic potential of the medieval craze was being exploited in the pages of Punch, continuing more or less to the end of the century. One famous example of this is George Du Maurier's 'Legend of Camelot' series of 1866, a satire based on the Moxon Tennyson of 1857. When Tenniel joined the magazine as

decorative artist in 1850 he found endless scope for his comic abilities, and it was when he transformed his expert knowledge of the medieval period into the comic idiom that he truly excelled.

Tenniel produced very few decorative initials in his serious work, but this lack is more than compensated for by the humorous ones which he drew for Punch in the footsteps of Richard Doyle, whose ornate and occasionally grotesque initials [211] set the trend for the remainder of the century, influencing not only Tenniel but also colleagues such as Charles Keene and Linley Sambourne. To accompany the magazine's continuous stream of verbal parody on medievalism, Tenniel provided pages of comic initials [205-10], some of them in gothic 'black letter' style [208d, 209c, 210a]. As in the medieval illuminated books which they imitate, these initials play an important part, acting as a pivotal device between text and design, combining decoration with the practical role of guiding the viewer's eye into the text of which they form the starting point. Tenniel's initials are full of imagination and inventiveness, many of them based on comic historical figures: King Lear with an umbrella [205a], two droll-looking men carrying a tiny bird on a stick [205d], a ploughman with his oxen [209a], an aristocratic hunter with his hawk [209b], and several figures in armour. Many of the latter are comic versions of St George, with or without his Dragon [205c, 206a-b, 207c, p.1], and versions of England's patron saint continued to the very end of the century, a more serious example appearing as a comment on terrorism in a political cartoon, 'The Dynamite Dragon' (April 1892) [301b].[129]

As in the case of the 'black letter' initials, the decorative and spatial potential of the gothic style is of particular interest in relation to Tenniel's early Punch work, and parallels can be identified both in the art of the past and in the work of Tenniel's contemporaries. 'The Saints of Old' (1851) [213a], for instance, looks back to the carved panels of ecclesiastical architecture, its circular vignettes and other compartments separated by architecturally-shaped branches and curling foliage; at the same time it anticipates Ford Madox Brown's triptych-like painting, The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry (1853) [11a], with its medieval style and historical subject. Similarly, Tenniel's 'The Vision of St. Patrick His Purgatory' (1852) [217a] is a clever parody of an illuminated manuscript. Its distinctly celtic decorative initial looks back in style to the sixth-century Irish Book of Kells [9a], while its circular vignettes are reminiscent of books like the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter [9b], whose decorative foliage appears to grow out of the ornate initials. Decorative vignettes of this kind became a popular framing and enclosing device for many Victorian artists, as for example in Maclise's bracelet design of 1848 [11b].

The idealisation of the past through folk literature became an early target in Punch, where Tenniel was called upon to satirise subjects to which he had once provided serious illustrations; again the decorated page style often played an important part. In view of the propaganda quality of folk literature, it was ironic, but at the same time highly

appropriate, that Tenniel's cartoons should employ ballad subjects to satirise contemporary figures and current affairs. Two decorative designs of 1851 (Vol. 20) are of particular interest in this respect, both of them accompanied by verses in archaic language. The first, 'The Ballad of John Bull, and the Loathlie Thing that sat on his Shoulders' [212], is an elaborate satire on income tax, with circular vignettes to enclose the episodes of the story. The second, 'The Dragon of Saint Paul's' [214], is a victorious comment on the cathedral's discontinuation of its entrance fee: Punch had for years campaigned for the removal of admission charges to Westminster Abbey and other ecclesiastical tourist attractions, and this design follows the Cathedral's abolition of fees which could amount to more than four shillings for a complete tour.[130] It consists of a delightful panel in lunette shape, depicting a plump clergyman-dragon who winces at the point of Mr Punch-St George's satirical pen.

Tenniel's portrayal of knighthood and chivalry similarly became transformed in his Punch work, and not always for comic purposes: his 'St Michael's Eve' of 1846 [33] is repeated to striking effect in the Crimean war cartoon, 'England's War Vigil' (Vol. 26, 1854) [230b], with Britannia as a kind of crusading Britomart.[131] The imagery of jousting and crusading knights was all-pervasive over the years, even percolating through into the day-to-day life of Punch: for example, Henry Silver's Diary of the Wednesday dinners refers to the eve of Tenniel's birthday as the 'Eve of St. Jackides' (27 February 1867).

The medieval tournament was an especially popular subject. Jousting figures appear frequently in Tenniel's Punch initials, as well as Mr Punch himself in title pages for 1881 (Vol. 81) and 1900 (Vol. 118); MPs also appear regularly as medieval knights, a typical example being 'Before the Tournament' (November 1868) [252], showing Gladstone and Disraeli about to enter the lists on the eve of a General Election.[132] Indeed, so popular was this dramatic pageantry to the early Victorians that a real-life reconstruction, the Eglinton Tournament, was held in Scotland in 1839; unfortunately the displays were spoilt by continuous heavy rain, resulting in the somewhat incongruous use of modern umbrellas. Doyle produced a set of burlesque sketches [168] in response to the event,[133] while in 1864 one of Tenniel's illustrations to Richard Barham's 'The Cynotaph' showed a group of anachronistically moustachioed Victorian gentlemen picnicking in the rain, one of them wearing a thick, modern overcoat [153a]. Tenniel's most famous jousting figure is of course the White Knight in Lewis Carroll's Through the Looking-Glass (1871) [197b-c]; this has been thought by some to be a comic self-portrait [199a], an idea reinforced by Linley Sambourne in 'Good Sir John!' (June 1893) [199b], which congratulates 'The Black-and-White Knight' on his newly-acquired knighthood.

The culmination of Tenniel's medieval humour was his series of designs to 'Punch's Book of British Costumes' (1860). This is a parodic view of English history from the time of the Anglo-Saxons to Henry VIII, based on such publications as F.W. Fairholt's Costume in England, which was used as a reference

book by history painters and others. Indeed, Tenniel had probably learnt much from Fairholt, whose pictures and descriptive text had first appeared in serialised form in the Art Journal between 1842 and 1846, thereby coinciding with Tenniel's contributions to the Book of British Ballads. Fairholt's series was published in volume form in 1846, and it was probably the reissue of 1860 that prompted the Punch satires.[134] The comic text to the latter was written by Henry Silver, who invented such pseudo-medieval titles as 'the ancient ballad of "Rosabelle and Sir Robert the Rasper"'. Silver frequently makes comic pretence at authenticity, claiming one design to have come 'From a very curious ms. in the possession of Mr. Punch', while another is of military shoes and spurs 'found whilst digging the foundations for Mr. Punch's new coal-cellar'; others are said to be copied from the (fictitious) effigies of William of Wimbledon and Peter of Pimlico.

In a satire on the romanticisation of the period, Tenniel shows medieval people in realistically undignified settings or poses, as if in exaggeration of pictures of everyday life found in the Luttrell Psalter: a man swamped by a long-sleeved shirt [224a], courtly ladies hanging out washing or feeding chickens, a bald man trying on the first wig, and a soldier in chainmail tunic folding up the washing (claimed to be a frontispiece to a thirteenth-century romance) [224c]. Equally comic is the effigy of Edward Longshanks, his legs bent and crossed in order to fit within the inadequate space provided [224b].

This series was the perfect vehicle for Tenniel's expert

knowledge of medieval costume, so carefully studied in his youth, and there is again a foretaste of Du Maurier's later social cuts, which mock the self-consciously pseudo-medieval costume of the fin-de-siècle aesthetic movement. Tenniel delights in making fun of the fashions of the period: a soldier appears in a 'casque' helmet [224d], a man is shown being fitted for excessively long-toed shoes, while an initial M is based on the shape of a lady's wide headdress supposedly taken from a 'brass' of Barbara de Bermondseye. Obvious anachronisms add to the humour: Prince Hal is shown admiring his reflection in a full-length, eighteenth-century-style mirror. Tenniel's anglo-saxon soldiers are particularly good [222a-b], being subtly grotesque versions of their genuine forebears [222c], while his depiction of the attempted assassination of King Edwin [223a], with its two-dimensional unshaded outlines and the deliberately awkward stance of the figures, is comparable to a genuine medieval depiction of an enthroned king [223b].

Tenniel parodied the celtic craze too: his small satirical designs for the yearly Punch Pocket Book include plump norsemen drinking from oversized, steaming goblets; the wings on their helmets are exaggeratedly long, and sometimes incorporate an entire dragon.[135] These existed alongside some of his more serious illustrations, for example to the poem 'The Battle of Gilboa' in Alexander Strahan's magazine Good Words (1862) [133a]: in spite of the Old Testament subject, this design has a distinctly celtic feel to it. Two further norse designs appeared in Good Words in 1863, one to Mary Howitt's adaptation of an old

Danish ballad, 'The Wooing and Wedding of Queen Dagmar' [134a], the other to Alexander Smith's poem 'The Norse Princess' [134b]; while the former is rather static and uninteresting, the latter is particularly good in terms of mood and composition. Celtic subjects also comprise much of Tenniel's work in Bradbury and Evans' magazine Once A Week: one of his best accompanies 'The Evil Tribute of Noménoë' (1860) [107], a ninth-century French story translated by Tom Taylor from Hersart de la Villemarqué, concerning an act of vengeance for the murder of an innocent messenger; the design reappears in Taylor's Ballads and Songs of Brittany (Macmillan, 1865).

This serious vein of Tenniel's is also found in his portrayal of contemporary figures as norse heroes in the cartoons, to the very end of his career. '"Demand thy Life!"' (November 1870) [259b] and '"Vae Victis!"' (March 1871) both idealise the invaders of Paris and reflect Punch's pro-German attitude by depicting the Prussians as noble warriors in winged helmets. In the same way Tenniel employs the historical subjects and settings of Scott, singling out Gladstone in particular as the celtic or knightly hero overcoming various political opponents and situations. The Lady of the Lake is featured in '"Victory!"' and 'Triumph!' (April 1880); similarly, Canto IV of The Lord of the Isles is the inspiration for 'The McGladstone!' (October 1890) [299a]. These are just a few examples of many cartoons which, while clearly making gentle fun of the Liberal leader, at the same time surround him with an aura of romantic

nobility. In the same way, Lord John Russell takes the place of the hero of Marmion in 'Lord Marmion-Russell' (November 1865) for a satire on reform, while '"Separatists"' (December 1890) represents Gladstone as the noble Douglas refusing to shake hands with the Irish MP Parnell, portrayed anachronistically as a modern-day Marmion in a suit of armour.

Another artistic personality on whom norse mythology exerted a strong influence was the German composer and librettist, Richard Wagner, many of whose operas are famous for their helmeted heroes and heroines. It was appropriate, then, that Tenniel's last cartoon of all, '"Time's Appeal"' (January 1901) [313], should show a typically Wagnerian Bellona, representing the spectre of war with Germany which was to materialise only a few months after Tenniel's own death in 1914.

Undine and the Fairy Figure

Baron Friedrich De La Motte Fouqué's Undine, first published in Germany in 1811, was illustrated by Tenniel in an English edition published by James Burns in 1845. It carries the distinction of being his first commission as sole illustrator, with eleven designs in total; the engraver was John Bastin, who had worked on Tenniel's British Ballads designs.

Fouqué was an early German Romantic, obsessed with medieval chivalry, old romances and sagas, and Undine has always been his most popular tale. Set in central Europe and based on German folk legend, it forms the first book, 'Spring', in Fouqué's tetralogy, The Four Seasons; an 1855 English edition of the latter, published by Edward Lumley, contains Tenniel's Undine

designs of 1845, together with John Franklin's to The Two Captains and Aslauga's Knight, and Henry Selous's to Sintram and his Companions.

The name Undine was originally coined by Goethe to represent the element of water. Fouqué's story, with its seductive mermaid character, was an ideal one for illustration, and it was not long before pictorial versions began to appear. Most notable of the early German examples are Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld's twenty designs [20-21] (Leipzig, 1816) and C.F. Schulze's fourteen (Nuremberg, 1817),[136] all done in the Retzschian outline style. When G. Soane's English translation appeared in 1818, the story quickly became as popular in Britain as it already was in Germany, capturing the imaginations of numerous painters and illustrators: between 1843 and 1859 a total of eighteen Undine subjects were exhibited at the Royal Academy and elsewhere, with hardly a year missed during that time.[137] Fouqué's water nymph was even a flattering persona for portrait sitters, for Lady Clementina Villiers appeared as Undine in a portrait by Alfred Edward Chalon, shown at the Royal Academy in 1843;[138] five years later, in a more domestic context, the children's author Margaret Gatty named a daughter Undine.[139]

Miss J.E. Gordon was the story's first English illustrator, with her Illustrations to Undine of 1843 (some of the designs are dated 1838); clearly influenced by Schnorr's outlines, they are decorative, but a little amateurish, and only part of the text is reproduced. Tenniel's designs [17-19] appeared two years later, in a neat little duodecimo volume published in Burns' Fireside

Library series. The influence of the German gothic style is evident throughout, particularly in the frontispiece [17a], which depicts the hero's first journey through the dangerous, spirit-haunted wood, as recounted in Chapter IV. Tenniel portrays Huldbrand as a typically aristocratic and heroic medieval knight, while the story's supernatural element is represented in the little goblin figures contained in the decorative border, and in the central design by the ghostly apparition of Undine's water-spirit uncle Kühleborn. The intertwined branches that compose the border are perfectly suited to the setting of the central illustration, while the goblins lurking within the border contribute to an atmosphere of threat as the wood seems to close in on Huldbrand. Two goblins cling to the upper corners as if to the branches of a tree, with more figures in the left-hand border and in the undergrowth below, the large, rather comic one in the lower left serving as a linking device between border and illustration as he clambers up towards the centre.

This frontispiece clearly owes something to Maclise's painting, Scene from Undine [22a], exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1844. The viewpoint, together with the juxtaposition of Kühleborn, the horse and its rider, is similar, while Tenniel's rendering of Huldbrand's feathered cap and medieval costume is reminiscent of those in the painting. Tenniel's bordering device is necessarily more artificial, but the presence of goblins within it is a clear echo of those found in Maclise's more naturally-conceived leafy borders.

Tenniel's illustration to Chapter XIV, 'The Black Valley'

[19b], is also reminiscent of Maclise; it shows Huldbrand supporting the fainting Bertalda (Undine's rival for his affections), while his frightened horse rears at the sinister presence of Kühleborn. The border here is less ornate than that of the frontispiece, being formed more naturally of treetrunks and intertwined branches, but a similar geometrical design appears at the centre top. The Black Valley, like the enchanted wood, is a dangerous place, and the balancing of these two scenes gives a unifying structure to the book, both textually and visually.

Tenniel's title page design [17b], although less self-assured than his frontispiece, forms an interesting contrast to it. The combination of 'bound twig' rectangular border and oval seaweed border within it suggests the incompatibility of the elements of earth and water, borne out in the tragic separation between human hero and mermaid heroine which ends in Huldbrand's death. The central seabed scene shows two mermaids cradling the mortal baby Bertalda, while Undine is being escorted to the bereaved fisherfolk in replacement, the ever-present Kühleborn looming in the background.

Tenniel's introductory design to Chapter I, 'How the Knight came to the Fisherman' [18a], contains his first depiction of Undine in the world of mortals. Here he follows the book's early pictorial tradition as exemplified by Schnorr's outlines [20-21] and Maclise's painting [22a] which, in accord with the timid but mischievous childlike figure described by Fouqué, places her within the fairy painting vogue of the 1840s.[140] This fairy

figure in nineteenth-century art is something of a romantic counterpart to the neoclassical allegorical female figure discussed in Part I; as far as Fouqué's tale is concerned, it is an image which has continued into our own century and been brought to life by Margot Fonteyn in the ballet Ondine. In his design Tenniel cleverly contrasts Undine's fairylike, evanescent quality with the gross solidity of the old fisherman in his chair. His delicate shading and cross-hatching are excellent and the combination of border, design, text and ornate initial beautifully balanced, while the placing of the open door suggests both Huldbrand's social distance from his host and his spiritual distance from Undine. Details such as the fishing nets hanging from the rafters had been part of the story's iconography ever since Schnorr's outlines, and were repeated well into the century, for example by W.E.F. Britten in an illustration of 1896 [24a] to a translation by Edmund Gosse.[141]

Huldbrand is unaware of Undine's affinity with water, so that when she disappears during a storm brought on by Kühleborn he goes out to rescue her. Tenniel's illustration to Chapter III, 'How they found Undine again' [18b], shows the knight on a rock in the middle of a swirling stream, steadying himself with a broken branch, while Undine is just visible in a sheltered spot on the left. This is a clear echo of one of Schnorr's outlines [20], although it gains much from its compression into the narrower page space available. At the same time Tenniel more successfully conveys a sense of movement and tension by means of the rushing water and the strong wind bending the branches of the

trees. Again, this motif became a stock one: another Gosse edition of 1896 contains a New-Era-style design by F.M. Rudland [25b] in which the branch, the rock, and even the knight's boots and spurs echo those in Tenniel's design, although the dramatic sense of turbulence is missing.[142]

After this adventure Huldbrand is given an opportunity to relax with Undine and her 'parents'. Tenniel's illustration to Chapter IV, 'Of that which befel the Knight in the Wood' [18c], depicts a peaceful rural scene, its natural borders formed by treetrunks on either side, their roots and branches extending inwards. This is again comparable with Schnorr's design [21], although as before the narrower page space results in a more compact and economical design.

Huldbrand proposes marriage to Undine, and she accepts, despite the fact that she is not a mortal and has no soul. Tenniel's illustration to Chapter IX, 'How the Knight took away his young Wife', shows Huldbrand escorting his bride home to his castle, which necessitates a return journey through the enchanted wood - the scene depicted in Maclise's painting [22a]. The presence of the priest who married them does not deter Kühleborn from rising up from his native element, and Tenniel skilfully blends the spirit's cloak with a stream to suggest his watery nature.

The marriage is not entirely happy, mainly due to Bertalda's presence as a guest at the castle. Huldbrand becomes discontented with Undine, who warns him that if he continues to be unkind to her she will be unable to stay; forgetting her

warning he uses harsh words, and Tenniel's illustration to Chapter XV, 'The Journey to Vienna' [19a], shows her slipping overboard into the Rhine to be received by her sister-mermaids. Huldbrand looks down in consternation, but Bertalda seems unconcerned. The three-quarter layout of the design lends itself perfectly to the separate media of earthly and watery elements; it is typically German in style, reminiscent of the British Ballads opening pages [13, 15, 16a], and of E. Neureuther's illustration of 1828 to Goethe's 'Der Fischer' [23], itself a variation on the mermaid-mortal relationship. Britten's 1896 version of the same scene [24b] is flamboyantly romantic when compared with Tenniel's much smaller, classically controlled figures with their sparse shading.

Huldbrand and Bertalda marry, and Undine is forced to return and kill her husband for his infidelity. Tenniel's illustration to Chapter XVIII, one of the most popular with artists, shows her arriving, a weeping, cloaked figure, at the centre of a stone fountain in Huldbrand's castle courtyard, while five workmen stand back in astonishment. Undine kills the knight with a kiss, and the tailpiece to the book depicts the dead hero lying on his bed with Undine kneeling to embrace him, looking more mermaid-like than ever with her long, flowing hair.

As the slight awkwardness of his title-page design [17b] shows, Tenniel was still feeling his way in 1845, but it is hard to deny either the overall technical competence or the charm of this early work. Burns seems not to have reprinted his 1845 edition, but it did reappear, together with Tenniel's

illustrations, under the imprint of Edward Lumley who, like Burns, advertised himself as a specialist in literature 'suitable for lending-libraries, prizes, fireside, steam-boat, or railway reading'. Tenniel's Undine designs were reaching an ever-widening audience through Lumley, whose five-shilling hardback edition was complemented by a ninepenny People's Edition with paper cover. Lumley was still advertising Undine in the early 1860s, and the printing of Tenniel's name on the spine of a small red-and-gilt 1861 edition is a sign of the artist's growing celebrity by this date. As we have seen in the case of Britten and Rudland, Undine remained popular as a subject for illustration to the very end of the nineteenth century and, indeed, well into the twentieth.[143]

A clear development can be traced from Tenniel's rather tentative Undine outlines to the more confident classicality of the mermaids and fairy figures in his later work. Two delightful examples appear in Once A Week in the early 1860s. The first is an illustration of 1861 to Owen Meredith's poem 'Fair Rosamond' [108b]: here is the familiar juxtaposition of medieval knight and enchanted wood, while the wicked goblins of the Undine story are replaced by a seductive troupe of fairy creatures. The second is an illustration of 1862 to 'The Fairies', Neville Temple's translation of a Heine poem [132a]; here Tenniel combines a sense of the supernatural with an undertow of gentle humour in his portrayal of a knight, pretending to be asleep, being petted and kissed by fairies on a moonlit seashore. In both of these designs Tenniel adds a confident, classical treatment to the more

romantically ephemeral quality already apparent in Undine.

As with most successes, Undine became a target for parody, and Tenniel himself took part in this when he illustrated R.H. Barham's doggerel verse tale 'Sir Rupert the Fearless' for the 1864 edition of The Ingoldsby Legends.[144] The tale had first appeared in Blackwood's Magazine in 1834, during Undine's first flush of popularity in England. But while Barham explores the problematical relationship between human and mermaid from a comic perspective, he also makes an implicit moral point that one should marry within one's own sphere. Having proposed to the wealthy Queen of the Mermaids, the impecunious Sir Rupert goes back on his promise and marries a mortal, at which point Lurline floods the church and drowns everyone [156-7]. Tenniel's 'seabed style' had clearly matured by this time: the classically-drawn fullness of Queen Lurline and her mermaid subjects [156-7] is far more self-assured than the rather colourless outlines of his Undine mermaids. Tenniel's numerous Punch mermaids such as those pictured in '"Under the Dark Blue Waters"' (May 1872) [263a] are similarly successful, while the same grotesque, surprised-looking fish are present who earlier gaped at Sir Rupert [156]. These Punch mermaids lack the ugly fins of their Undine and 'Sir Rupert' counterparts, while their fishes' tails are more elegant than the earlier, rather plump legs. With their classical fullness and wavy flowing hair they anticipate W.E.F. Britten's Undine [25a] of 1896.

Maclise's depiction of Undine may also have influenced Tenniel in a rather less obvious context, in his portrayal of the

deceitful Marianne [126-7] in Harry Cholmondeley-Pennell's Puck on Pegasus,[145] for she is similarly petite and pretty, just like a mischievous fairy. This collection of parodic verse was first published as an illustrated giftbook in 1861 and ran into a number of editions, remaining popular almost to the turn of the century. The parodies were all harmless fun, but some critics did not approve; a mealy-mouthed reviewer in the Art Journal comments:

> Every attempt that has been made to rival Hood's humorous writings has failed ... [Pennell's book contains] a series of droll poems fashioned after the similitude of Longfellow, Tennyson, Martin Tupper, Macaulay, Southey, and others. They are clever imitations of the styles of these respective writers, and are not without considerable humour; but the comedy is generally rather of the "low" than the "genteel" kind, and the book, notwithstanding its gay exterior, is certainly not one to grace a lady's boudoir. ... The illustrations are worthy of Punch, which is the highest compliment we can pay them.[146]

'Lord Jollygreen's Courtship', to which Tenniel contributed four designs, is a lighthearted parody of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship', which concerns the secret love of a poor but talented poet for the rich and beautiful Lady Geraldine. While staying at her Sussex home, Wycombe Hall, Bertram imagines that one of the other, more aristocratic guests is his rival, and in an outburst of jealous passion accuses Lady Geraldine of social élitism, in return for which she reveals her love for him. The poem's subtitle, 'A Romance of the Age', suggests that the nineteenth century might be a turning-point as far as social obstacles to marriage were concerned; however, like Barham's 'Sir Rupert', Pennell's 'Lord Jollygreen' seeks to overturn this

democratising trend, while Tenniel, whether consciously or otherwise, employs his Undine iconography to suggest irreconcilable class differences, in the same way that Fouqué's story demonstrates the insurmountable incompatibility of mermaid and mortal.

'Lady Geraldine' begins: 'A poet writes to his friend. PLACE - A room in Wycombe Hall. TIME - Late in the evening.' Pennell imitates this closely with: 'A poet writes to his friend. Place - Bedlam. Time - probably "Saturday night about two o'clock in the morning."' (The quotation marks suggest a comic phrase, perhaps from a popular music-hall song.) The writer, whose name suggests his naïveté, is in the madhouse because of the disastrous relationship he has had with Marianne, the 'cook at Number 7'; he first saw her as she was scrubbing the kitchen steps, and when she turned and smiled at him he was immediately captivated, in spite of the social distance between them.

Tenniel's first illustration [126a] is itself a parody of an earlier proposal scene which he contributed in 1857 to Barry Cornwall's 'The Falcon' [68c]; significantly enough, that design depicts a poor man proposing marriage to a rich woman, and is entirely serious in mood. Now, in the Pennell version, there has been a reversal in the social status of the two characters, and a marked difference in their ages is clearly apparent: the rich Lord Jollygreen kneels inelegantly on the pavement, his left hand on his heart, his right arm stretched out, like a farcical stage lover; as for Marianne, standing coyly, broom in hand, she is reminiscent of Undine when Huldbrand first meets her [18a]: there

is the same neat little foot extended, the same demure, endearing pose, while Jollygreen is an elderly Huldbrand, short and plump.

Jollygreen and Marianne marry, but one day he arrives home early and opens a kitchen cupboard to find it 'fill'd with six feet one of Horse Guards Blue' - the counterpart, no doubt, of Bertram's rival and, by implication, Marianne's social equal. Tenniel shows the confrontation at its dramatic height [126b], using a steep diagonal from the top of the soldier's cap to the tip of Marianne's toe to stress the farcical nature of the scene. A warming pan hanging on the wall near the soldier suggests his usefulness in warming beds: a clever touch on Tenniel's part, subtle enough not to shock (or even be noticed by) the more serious reader. Indeed, it had clearly escaped the observation of the critic in an Observer review of 1874 who, less judgmental than his Art Journal counterpart of 1861, refers to Puck on Pegasus as being 'Specially fit for reading in the family circle'.[147]

Inevitably, the soldier and Marianne elope by night via a rope ladder [127a], a scene which parallels Undine's departure from Huldbrand, downward into the waters of the Rhine, and back to her natural element [19a]. Pennell's anti-climactic ending is a typical one: rather than being killed with a kiss, Jollygreen is pictured next day [127b] sitting on an upstairs window sill and tearing out his whiskers in despair, having just received a five-pound bill for the ladder.[148]

Thus it would seem that Pennell, like Barham, had a moral point to make, and that both writers were far more consciously

didactic than the early German Romantic Fouqué. Subtly basing his humorous designs on the iconography of his early Undine illustrations, Tenniel thus helps both parodists, Barham the High Anglican clergyman and Pennell the aristocrat, to throw doubt on the advisability of social intermarriage, implicitly suggesting that cooks and housemaids, like fairies and mermaids, are from another world, and should be treated accordingly.

The Haunted Man

Tenniel's illustrations to Charles Dickens' The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain of 1848 follow very much in the footsteps of those he did for Burns, and of Undine in particular. Both Undine and The Haunted Man are small, slim volumes, in which Tenniel exploits to the full the potential of the decorated page style in combination with a supernatural subject; as we shall see, this juxtaposition of style and subject was already something of a tradition in the illustration of Dickens' Christmas Books.

The Haunted Man was the last of Dickens' five Christmas Books. Published by Bradbury and Evans in December 1848, it contains five designs by John Leech, two by Clarkson Stanfield, five by Tenniel, and two by Frank Stone; Leech and Stanfield had contributed to earlier Christmas Books, whereas Tenniel and Stone had not illustrated for Dickens before. The book's predecessors were the ever-popular A Christmas Carol (1843), The Chimes (1844), The Cricket on the Hearth (1845) and, least successful, The Battle of Life (1846).

Unlike the author's other illustrators, who were almost always chosen from his personal friends, Tenniel was unknown to

Dickens until shortly before he began work on The Haunted Man. Dickens' reason for engaging him is unclear, but he may have been attracted by the illustrations to Undine, whose decorated page style reappears in Tenniel's frontispiece, title page and illustrations to Dickens' book. There was also a more personal connection, in that one of The Haunted Man's engravers, Tenniel's friend and brother-in-law Leopold Martin, had met Dickens as far back as 1836 at the home of George Cruikshank, and may well have recommended Tenniel to him.[149]

Dickens' earliest mention of Tenniel appears in a letter dated 30 October 1848 to John Leech:

> Mr. Tenniel has been here today and will go to work on the frontispiece. We must arrange for a dinner here, very shortly, when you and he may meet. He seems to be a very agreeable fellow, and modest.[150]

This plan was apparently delayed, for Dickens mentions it again on 19 December, in a letter to another friend.[151] This date was significant, being that of the story's publication: according to Dickens 18,000 copies had already been sold (this figure was later rounded up to 20,000 by Forster), while the publishers recorded a more modest total of 17,421 sold by 31 December.[152] Despite these apparently healthy sales, however, The Haunted Man received a significant amount of adverse criticism, many readers confessing themselves puzzled by the idiosyncracies of style and plot, and Dickens' later Christmas stories appeared in periodical rather than volume form.[153]

The promised dinner eventually took place at Dickens' Devonshire Terrace home on 3 January 1849, by way of a

'christening party' for the book, with all four illustrators attending.[154] This was probably Tenniel's first meeting with a number of Punch men: the magazine's publishers William Bradbury and Frederick Evans, its chief political cartoonist John Leech, and its founding editor, Mark Lemon; the latter, with Dickens' help, had written a dramatic version of The Haunted Man for performance at the Adelphi Theatre.[155]

The emphasis in all of these early Christmas Books is on the domestic affections, on the seemingly magical quality found in hearth and home at this special time of year, with the added spice of the supernatural in the shape of ghostly apparitions and other strange happenings. Dickens' illustrators contributed towards this atmosphere: some early examples include Maclise's decoratively gothic frontispiece to The Chimes [45a] with its profusion of goblins and fairies, Richard Doyle's 'Third Quarter' illustration [46a] to the same book, and Leech's illustration to The Cricket on the Hearth [47a], with its little choristers and instrumentalists rising in the steam from the kettle.

The Haunted Man continues in this tradition and, as its title suggests, has its fair share of the supernatural. Dickens opens Chapter I, 'The Gift Bestowed', with a vivid description of his title character, a learned man and teacher of chemistry named Redlaw, who is found brooding over unhappy memories:

> Who could have seen his hollow cheek, his sunken brilliant eye; his black attired figure, indefinably grim, although well-knit and well-proportioned; his grizzled hair hanging, like tangled sea-weed about his face, - as if he had been, through his whole life, a lonely mark for the chafing and beating of the great deep of humanity, - but might have said he looked like

a haunted man?

and appropriately Redlaw is the subject of Tenniel's frontispiece design [42a]. Redlaw's fireside, in other homes a source of comfort, is a neglected and solitary one: he is found 'pondering in his chair before the rusted grate and red flame', looking 'fixedly at the fire'. He is far from being the rational stereotype of the Victorian scientist; indeed, the Morning Chronicle found Redlaw

> far more suggestive of the mysterious astrologer of the northern turret of the baronial castle in the year of grace 14—, than of a well-bred and clean-shaven expositor of science in the Nineteenth Century ...[156]

The mystery is reinforced by a ghost standing at Redlaw's back, 'an awful likeness of himself'. Tenniel captures its pale, insubstantial quality, while at the same time duplicating in it Redlaw's features and attitude:

> with his features, and his bright eyes, and his grizzled hair, and dressed in the gloomy shadow of his dress, it came into its terrible appearance of existence, motionless, without a sound. As he leaned his arm upon the elbow of his chair, ruminating before the fire, it leaned upon the chair-back, close above him, with its appalling copy of his face looking where his face looked, and bearing the expression his face bore.

Leech's own, very similar version of this scene [47b] appears within the text of Chapter I, with exactly the same viewpoint. As in the frontispiece, Redlaw's legs are crossed in exactly the same way, his chin propped on his right hand with its curving fingers, his left arm resting across his waist. One small difference is the fact that Tenniel's Redlaw is sitting further back in his chair, while the chair itself is of a more elegant

design. If, as Dickens' letters suggest, Tenniel and Leech did not meet until after publication, then they probably exchanged notes and sketches by post, under the supervision, no doubt, of the author himself.

As both of these designs show, the ghost at Redlaw's back plays an interesting supernatural-psychological role, as a kind of alter-ego or doppelgänger. Redlaw makes a bargain with the ghost whereby he is enabled to forget his unhappy past, but there is little joy in his new state of mind, for with his memories go all sense of goodness and affection. One writer suggests that, as in a morality play, 'the forces of good and evil contend for the mastery of Redlaw's psyche',[157] and this puritan battle imagery is implicit in Tenniel's frontispiece, with its ornate, circular border made up of angels, devils and struggling human beings in outline form, strongly reminiscent of Maclise's title-page design for The Battle of Life [45b]. Tenniel's human figures, beckoned to by angels and held back by devils, attempt to clamber up the border's thorny branches while, as a linking device, a devil perched at the top leers down into the central illustration.

Through this decorative border Tenniel reinforces Dickens' argument that it is the mixture of good and evil, joy and sorrow, that makes life bearable. Indeed, Dickens was quite explicit about this aim:

> Of course my point is that bad and good are inextricably linked in remembrance, and that you could not choose the enjoyment of recollecting only the good ...[158]

Dickens embodies this paradox in the character of Milly Swidger, Redlaw's landlady. A homely, angelic woman, she has been blessed in some mysterious way through the death of her child, as Tenniel symbolises in his title-page design [42b]. Balancing well with the frontispiece, which it faces, its circular border of thorny branches and roses again suggests the inseparability of pain and pleasure. The inner design portrays an angelic form in classical outline style - a somewhat shaky forerunner to Tenniel's idealised Punch figures - juxtaposed with the dark, cloaked figure of death, a child held between them. This design is less successful than the frontispiece, partly because the symbolism is a little remote, and partly because the angel and the child are less confidently drawn than the more effective ghostly figure.

Dickens follows his description of Redlaw by conjuring up a picture of cold, winter evenings; from a gloomy outdoor scene he then turns to a contrasting indoor one:

> When little readers of story-books, by the firelight, trembled to think of Cassim Baba cut into quarters, hanging in the Robbers' Cave, or had some small misgivings that the fierce little old woman with the crutch, who used to start out of the box in the merchant Abudah's bedroom, might, one of these nights, be found upon the stairs, in the long, cold, dusky journey up to bed.

Tenniel reproduces many of these details in his introductory illustration [42c] to the chapter. He depicts a family group seated by the fireside, the eye guided in by the figure of a young child in shadow, reading a book; Dickens' own explicit reference to the reading process is thus alluded to, while the first few words of the chapter are set uncompromisingly at the

centre as if to present the text of the story as a direct experience of the family depicted. This effectively draws the viewer in towards the family group with which he or she identifies, while at the same time directing attention to the story through the printed word, thus reinforcing the link between fictitious and actual reader.

Dickens makes specific reference to the exotic eastern stories he imagines the child to be reading - 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' from the Arabian Nights and 'The Talisman of Oromanes' from Sir Charles Morell's Tales of the Genii (1820)[159] - and Tenniel accordingly adds some strange little outline figures by way of decoration in the top left. From the top of a circular vignette hangs the figure of a Turk cut into four, with five robbers below, one with a sword; just below this, in a smaller vignette, is 'the fierce little old woman with the crutch' (two crutches, in fact, which suggests that Tenniel remembered the tale more accurately than did his author). These oriental stories were, and still are, popular Christmas pantomime subjects, which probably explains Tenniel's addition, independently of the text, of a set of mice driving Cinderella's pumpkin coach, with her glass slipper placed ingeniously in the top right as a neat completion to the design.

This is an especially good example of a balanced combination of border, design and text, and is a clear progression from Tenniel's Undine illustrations. He had also clearly learnt much from earlier Dickens artists, especially Richard Doyle, no doubt with the author's encouragement. Doyle's 'Chirp the Second'

[46b] to The Cricket on the Hearth, for example, employs similar 'crossed twig' borders, encloses a small piece of text, and portrays a happy domestic scene, while a decorative scattering of goblins, toys and other small objects, right down to the rocking-horse and hanging figure, contributes to its playful atmosphere.

Tenniel's design differs from Doyle's, however, in its skilful shadow effects. These are closely based on Dickens' account of the deceptively frightening shapes produced by the firelight, again with an echo from a pantomime story, Jack and the Beanstalk:

> When twilight everywhere released the shadows, prisoned up all day, that now closed in and gathered like mustering swarms of ghosts. When they stood lowering, in corners of rooms, and frowned out from behind half-opened doors. When they had full possession of unoccupied apartments. When they danced upon the floors, and walls, and ceilings of inhabited chambers, while the fire was low, and withdrew like ebbing waters when it sprung into a blaze. When they fantastically mocked the shapes of household objects, making the nurse an ogress, the rocking-horse a monster, the wondering child, half-scared and half-amused, a stranger to itself - the very tongs upon the hearth a straddling giant with his arms akimbo, evidently smelling the blood of Englishmen, and wanting to grind people's bones to make his bread.

Tenniel shows the 'wondering child', seated on the floor with its back to the viewer, pointing up at its own unfamilarly exaggerated shadow; a shadowy profile of the nurse, her mouth open as if she is about to eat the baby she is holding; a huge horse's head; and an enormous pair of fire irons reaching half-way to the ceiling. He adds something of his own, too: an army of soldiers marching across the wall from left to right. As Dickens suggests, these phantom shapes contrast dramatically with

the cosy domestic realities which cause them; there is also a more implicit contrast with the solitary, fire-gazing Redlaw:[160] his walls have shadows too (in the text, at least), but they remind him of his past and he prefers not to look at them.

In Chapter II, 'The Gift Diffused', Redlaw ventures out to visit a student of his who is ill, not realising that his new state carries the misfortune of passing on the 'gift' of oblivion to others. His first victims are the Tetterby family in whose home the student lodges; usually happy despite their relative poverty, Mr and Mrs Tetterby forget the blessings of family life and become irritable and dissatisfied with each other. Employed by Dickens to reinforce his ideology of family life, they are a parallel to the anonymous family group of Chapter I, as well as to the Swidger family, and were one of the more popular aspects of the book with contemporary readers.[161]

Dickens wrote to Frank Stone on 21 November 1848 enclosing the text of Chapter II and informing him of the illustrations that were already 'in hand'; one of these was an 'Illuminated page' assigned to Tenniel, 'Representing Redlaw going upstairs, and the Tetterby family below.'[162] In practice, the design spread across two pages [43a]. Again, Tenniel's illustration reflects his close attention to Dickens' text: the family includes 'almost any amount of small children you may please to name' (we later discover that there are seven sons and one baby daughter), and Tenniel certainly achieves a cluttered effect, while the screen pasted with news cuttings from which the father habitually reads to his family serves as a useful background

device to make the room seem even more cramped. One child is given the honoured responsibility of nursing the latest addition to the family:

> a very Moloch of a baby, on whose insatiate altar the whole existence of this particular young brother was offered up a daily sacrifice ...

An early reviewer enthused that 'Dickens is a dead hand at a baby',[163] and this approval might well be extended to Tenniel, who depicts Little Johnny seated on a low stool, with a baby almost as large as himself on his lap. It is again interesting to compare Leech's treatment of the same family in this chapter, which suggests that by this stage less time was available for artists to compare notes: he presents them in his usual caricatured, slightly grotesque style, with a much older-looking Mrs Tetterby, and with an oval, rather than a rectangular table.

Redlaw's arrival produces a scream from Mrs Tetterby, who has already encountered him briefly in the street, and her children cling to her in fear. As the visitor, 'a pale man in a black cloak', mounts the staircase on his way to the student's room:

> he stopped and looked down. The wife was standing in the same place, twisting her ring round and round upon her finger. The husband, with his head bent forward on his breast, was musing heavily and sullenly. The children, still clustering about the mother, gazed timidly after the visitor, and nestled together when they saw him looking down.

Tenniel, having recognised Redlaw's Byronic qualities, depicts him as an introverted, moody man with an inexplicable burden. This type had already enjoyed a long history, one of the earliest pictorial examples being Thomas Stothard's illustration of 1814

[44] to Canto I of Byron's Childe Harold.[164] Tenniel invokes, through the flickering effect of candlelight, an eerie sense of the supernatural, making an enlarged shadow of Redlaw's mysterious, cloaked figure appear on the wall behind him, emphasised by his tall hat. This is a clear if subdued echo of the exaggerated shadows in his Chapter I illustration, now suggesting the ominously sinister atmosphere surrounding Redlaw, while at the same time symbolising the blight which he casts upon people's lives as they come into contact with him. Seeing what he has done to the Tetterbys:

> The Chemist, paler than before, stole upward like a thief, looking back upon the change below, and dreading equally to go on or return.

Milly Swidger also visits the student, but she is fortunately unchanged by Redlaw's presence, thanks to her special, almost magical, quality. In Chapter III, 'The Gift Reversed', she is the means whereby Redlaw's curse is lifted from his victims, while Redlaw himself, although he does not recover his memory, regains his feeling for humanity. The chapter opens just before dawn on Christmas morning:

> Night was still heavy in the sky. On open plains, from hill-tops, and from the decks of solitary ships at sea, a distant, low-lying line, that promised by-and-by to change to light, was visible in the dim horizon; but its promise was remote and doubtful, and the moon was striving with the night-clouds busily.

The darkness is linked by Dickens with the psychological state of his protagonist:

> The shadows upon Redlaw's mind succeeded thick and fast to one another, and obscured its light as the night-clouds hovered between the moon and earth, and kept the latter veiled in darkness. Fitful and uncertain as the shadows which the night-clouds cast, were their

> concealments from him, and imperfect revelations to him; and, like the night-clouds still, if the clear light broke forth for a moment, it was only that they might sweep over it, and make the darkness deeper than before.

As dawn breaks, Redlaw's compassion returns, and at the same time 'the distant line on the horizon brightened, the darkness faded, the sun rose red and glorious ...'.

Tenniel's introductory design [43c] is based compositionally on Stanfield's Chapter I illustration, which depicts sailors at sea in a storm and a lighthouse on a distant rock. Tenniel places his lighthouse in a similar position on the right, but now, in place of the raging storm, the sea is calm, and instead of sailors clinging to the yardarm in the top left he places a decorative grouping of classically-drawn female figures. Dickens has chosen Christmas morning deliberately, the celebration of the Nativity having special associations with the fight of good against evil; Tenniel accordingly shows the dawn as a magical triumph over darkness, in a wonderful swirl of movement made up of these allegorical figures. From the distant horizon, far out to sea, they move towards the viewer and up into the sky, where the figure of Night, its dark cloak imprinted with stars, retreats into the uppermost corner. This figure is a pictorial echo, both of Redlaw in his cloak, and of the figure of Death in the title page design, while the female figures, symbolic both of the dawn and of a renewal of spiritual light in Redlaw's life, are reminiscent of the angel. This delightful, delicate design is a quasi-religious reworking of earlier artists' work, for example Maclise's frontispiece to The Chimes [45a] with its

decorative female figures at the top, and well as Leech's illustration to The Cricket on the Hearth [47a] with its little kettle-steam figures.

As Angus Wilson has suggested, there is a certain element of autobiographical interest in The Haunted Man.[165] Through his portrayal of Redlaw, Dickens was clearly examining the need to come to terms with a traumatic past and, as ever, he resolves his preoccupation in a picture of the simple joys of domestic life. The book concludes with the lonely outsider Redlaw taking part in the Swidger family's Christmas celebrations, just as Ebenezer Scrooge joins his own family at the end of A Christmas Carol. Here, as they all sit round the table, Dickens refers back to the symbolism of the book's opening:

> ... the shadows once more stole out of their hiding-places, and danced about the room, showing the children marvellous shapes and faces on the walls, and gradually changing what was real and familiar there, to what was wild and magical.

In parallel with this verbal echo, Stanfield's tailpiece design contains two reminders of Tenniel's Chapter I illustration: the same fire irons appear in shadow at the lower border, while four children, seated on the floor, have their shadows cast up behind them onto the white tablecloth of the Christmas feast.

The Haunted Man, the last in this early series of Christmas Books, was the only book Tenniel illustrated for Dickens; however, as noted previously, their association continued briefly in another way, with the author's charity theatricals of 1851 and 1852. Dickens' connection with Punch itself was a tenuous one: he never wrote for the magazine, although Bradbury and Evans

published his popular periodical Household Words from 1850 to 1859. In 1859 Dickens discontinued the magazine following a disagreement with his publishers over his marital separation, and set up All the Year Round independently of them. After this time he had little to do with the Punch staff, nor they with him, and this situation may well have excluded Tenniel from working with Dickens again. Thus, when the five Christmas Books were reissued in one volume in 1869 it was under the imprint of Chapman & Hall; Tenniel's frontispiece and three illustrations reappear, but his less successful title-page design is omitted. The Christmas Books, complete with their illustrations, have survived into our own century, published firstly by Oxford University Press with an introduction by Eleanor Farjeon, and more recently in a two-volume edition by Michael Slater for Penguin Classics.

It is perhaps the unfortunate breach between Dickens and Punch, as well as Tenniel's possible dissatisfaction with some of his early work, that lies behind the politely unhelpful letter he wrote many years later to Frederic Kitton, already quoted in the Introduction (p.9). But Dickens' novels were ripe sources for humour, and this did not prevent Tenniel, like Leech before him, from basing some of his Punch cartoons on a variety of Dickensian characters and situations, some of them ingeniously close to their originals.[166] 'Mrs Micawber' (May 1884) [290a] for example shows the Liberal leader W.E. Gladstone embraced by a female Liberal Majority who never will desert him; a year later he is cast even less respectfully as 'The Political "Mrs Gummidge"' (May 1885) [292a] in which, in a direct and lengthy quotation

from David Copperfield, he laments over the muddle in foreign affairs left to him by the late Disraeli, referred to as 'the old 'un'.

Most interesting in the present context, however, is Tenniel's 'The Haunted Lady or "The Ghost" in the Looking-Glass' (July 1863) [239b], a comment on the death of an overworked seamstress, which refers explicitly to The Haunted Man both in the wording of its title and pictorially. The dead girl's reflection in the mirror takes the place of the ghostly alter-ego, suggesting that the rich lady in her new dress, but for her privileged position, might have died under similar circumstances. This was not Punch's first commentary on this particular social abuse: Thomas Hood's 'The Song of the Shirt' (16 December 1843), written to expose such exploitation, caught the popular imagination and ensured the fame both of the magazine and of the poet. It did not, however, lead to greatly improved working conditions: twenty years later Tenniel's reminder was evidently needed, while the overworked and underpaid seamstress, working far into the night, was regularly depicted in paintings of the period.

In this way, the familiarity of readers with The Haunted Man, itself written as a general appeal for human compassion, was employed by Tenniel to stir the public conscience in relation to a specific exploitative situation. Despite the coolness between Dickens and the Punch staff, the humanitarian novelist could not but have approved.

## Aesop's Fables

Tenniel's numerous designs to a new Aesop's Fables, published by John Murray in 1848, mark the culmination of his early years as an illustrator. Tenniel had been introduced to Murray by his brother-in-law, Leopold Martin, the book's engraver, and with one hundred and eight designs this was his first large-scale commission, giving him an opportunity to prove himself while he was still young and relatively unknown. He was never again to provide so many illustrations to any single work of literature.

By this date his early style was reaching its full maturity, and he was now combining his carefully drawn outlines with great sensitivity in the use of shading. He had also begun to modify and experiment with the basic decorated page technique by adapting the gothic-style border to a more naturalistic framework of trees, their branches and roots extending symmetrically towards each other to form upper and lower borders, as he had already done in one of his Undine designs [18c]; more experimentally still, he creates a pleasing asymmetry in such designs as 'The Stag at the Pool' [39].

The book's editor was the Rev. Thomas James, MA (1809-1863), who pays tribute in his Introduction to 'the kindly spirit of Mr. Tenniel's co-operation' and 'the happy results of his skill'. James was a scholarly man, having been educated at Eton, the University of Glasgow, and Christ Church, Oxford. He held a number of positions in those days of clerical plurality - the 1848 title page describes him as Vicar of Sibbertoft in Northamptonshire and of Theddingworth in Leicestershire, as well

as Chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells - and unlike some clergymen of his day he appears not to have needed to supplement his income: Aesop's Fables was one of his very few literary ventures, and by far his best known.[167]

The fables of Aesop were of course familiar to the reading public, having been widely published in many languages over hundreds of years, and frequently illustrated. Tenniel was therefore following in a long and often distinguished line of artists, and occasionally shows his familiarity with their designs. An early version of Aesop, published for Francesco del Tuppo at Naples in 1485,[168] contains a number of already well-established motifs which are echoed in Tenniel's illustrations: 'The Frog and the Ox' [38c] for example bears a close resemblance to Tuppo's 'The Frog and the Bull' [40a], while both artists' designs to 'The Fox and the Stork' are similar, the Tuppo version [40b] showing two stages simultaneously while Tenniel [38a] depicts just one episode. A more recent illustrator was Thomas Bewick in Samuel Croxall's Fables of Aesop and Others (1818): Tenniel's 'Vain Jackdaw' [37b] is compositionally almost a reverse image of Bewick's [40c] and, although Tenniel dispenses with the formal frame, he stays within the same oval parameter employed by Bewick.

However, apart from these compositional similarities, Tenniel's designs did differ, if only stylistically, from earlier illustrators, in that he dispensed with their often rather ornate, baroque treatment. This difference is alluded to in a favourable, two-page review in the Art-Union journal, which

reproduces seven of Tenniel's illustrations. Having praised both artist and engraver, the critic goes on to comment:

> We believe this is the first attempt that has been made to give to the illustrations of "Aesop" that classic character which so befits the writings of the Greek.[169]

The reviewer concludes: 'The illustrations are, in fact, beautiful works of Art.'

Cosmo Monkhouse in his 1901 monograph[170] also comments on the inherent classicality of Tenniel's illustrations, while Frances Sarzano in 1948 writes of Tenniel's 'delicate' designs (no doubt a reference to the outline style), and draws attention to the 'formula of strong light and shadow'[171] which was to feature in much of his later work; thus the group of people on the bridge in 'The Miller, his Son, and their Ass' [35c] are drawn sparingly, while the falling animal's heavier shading directs the viewer's eye down towards the focal point.

Despite his painstaking studies at London's Zoological Gardens, Tenniel's designs betrayed his relative inexperience in the representation of animals. Thus, when the book went into a second, improved edition in the year of publication, Tenniel redrew some designs while, no doubt to his humiliation, a specialist artist in animal and bird subjects, Josef Wolf, was assigned the frontispiece and more than twenty replacement illustrations (a useful preliminary for Wolf, who was to contribute to a new edition of Aesop in 1867). Tenniel was a reticent man, and probably took this setback quietly and philosophically, but it may well have haunted him for the rest of his life, giving rise to the exclamation 'That lion's all

wrong!', already noted in the Introduction (p.19). At the time of Aesop's first appearance, however, one can imagine that the slight inaccuracies would hardly have mattered to the outside world, if they were noticed at all. In fact, careful attention is needed to detect evidence of technical immaturity: one very small defect can be found in his illustration to 'The Fable of the Vine and the Goat' [37c], in which one of the animal's hind legs seems to be attached in an awkward position.

The book was extremely popular, selling steadily for many years, and remaining in print, together with its illustrations, right into the early twentieth century; the continued inclusion of all of the woodcuts is somewhat unusual, for later issues of Victorian illustrated books tend to omit several if not all of the designs for the sake of economy. Its enterprising publishers ensured that it was available in several forms, including an 1852 half-crown edition in the 'Murray's Reading for the Rail' series; for the traveller's convenience this was slightly smaller than the 1848 octavo edition, and printed on thinner paper. By 1882 the landmark of the seventy-eighth thousand was reached, with further issues every few years. The 1898 edition was reprinted in 1907 and 1910, while a further edition, priced at one shilling, was issued in 1911.[172]

The book's impact must have been immediate as well as lasting, for Douglas Jerrold, the leading Punch writer, was attracted by Tenniel's style, and suggested to Mark Lemon in 1850 that Tenniel be invited to replace Richard Doyle as decorative artist: an invitation that was to prove to be one of the most

decisive turning-points in Tenniel's career. Although he was taken aback at first by the invitation to join a humorous magazine, Tenniel's Aesop work contains some clear comic characteristics, and this was a facility which he turned to good use in Punch; there was, for instance, the grotesqueness of the strange-looking, pot-bellied cook [37a], and the visual pun in the juxtaposition of a long, skinny weasel and a large round jar [38b]. But above all there was the lifelong tendency to draw his animals with charming, quasi-human expressions: the ox looks out of the picture at the viewer [38c], the dog peers longingly into the stream [36c], and the cook's dog stares out of the window, horrified at the fate of his unfortunate guest [37a].

Bearing in mind the introduction to Punch which his Aesop designs inadvertently gave to Tenniel, it seems appropriate that several of his political cartoons should refer back to his Aesop subjects, especially since the book's continued popularity throughout the century meant that his designs remained prominently in the public eye. It is interesting to see, in this respect, that years later he was still employing a basic outline technique: an ideal one for the relatively hurried world of weekly journalism. One of his earliest title pages (Vol. 20, 1851) shows Mr Punch as 'The Modern Aesop' standing on a dais in front of the Crystal Palace, constructed in Hyde Park for the Great Exhibition of that year; an assortment of animals are grouped below him. Besides the explicit reference to Aesop, there is a clear connection here with Tenniel's 1848 title page, also included in some later editions, which shows a group of

people listening to the revered storyteller.

It was customary in Punch to relate animals to particular countries - for example the British Lion, the Russian Bear, the French Wolf and the German Fox - and these geographical anthropomorphisms are sometimes reminiscent of the fables of Aesop or La Fontaine without any direct pictorial connection with Tenniel's Aesop.[173] There are, however, a substantial number of cartoons which are more closely allied: for instance, Tenniel's illustration to 'The Wolf and the Lamb' is echoed in 'The French Wolf and the Siamese Lamb' (August 1893), which shows a wolf in the shape of a French soldier affecting friendship towards a suspicious and vulnerable-looking lamb across the waters of the Mekong.

This is not the first tricky relationship between nations that Tenniel portrayed in the context of his Aesop designs. A much earlier cartoon, 'Switzerland Warming the Snake' (January 1857) [232b], is closely based on his illustration to 'The Countryman and the Snake' [35a], and both are in simple outlines. The fable tells how a man who brings a frozen snake back to life is repaid for his efforts; Tenniel transforms this into a comment on the supposed untrustworthiness of Louis Napoleon of France. While the grouping of wife and two children is omitted from the cartoon for purposes of clarity, the juxtaposition of human figure and snake before a smoking fireplace is almost identical, and the snake itself, with the necessary addition of human face and crown, has undergone only a slight alteration to its swirling coils.

As this latter example shows, Tenniel's anthropomorphic cartoons could be quite offensive, but then there was no love lost between Britain and France. Relations with Ireland were even more problematic throughout the century, and that country comes in for much insulting representation in Punch;[174] it was not unusual, for example, for Tenniel to represent the Irish as pigs in a farmyard, or as monkey-like subhumans. In the light of this, his Irish dog in 'Substance and Shadow' (November 1881) [284a] seems almost kind. Based on his illustration to 'The Dog and the Shadow' [36c], whose moral is that those who are not content with the little they have are in danger of losing it, the cartoon comments on the touchy subject of fair rents and the Irish Land Act. The Aesop connection is made explicit by a mock-fable:

THE DOG AND THE SHADOW

(An old Fable with - we will hope - a New Ending.)

A DOG, crossing a bridge over a stream of difficulties, with a Solid Substance in his mouth, saw in the water a dim and distorted phantasm, unreal as unattainable, and, fondly deeming it to be a better and brighter Reality, he was impelled by an almost irresistible desire to snatch at the seeming prize.

But - no farther - as yet. The Irish dog is at pause, the solid prize undropped, the shadowy shape -

"If shape it may be called, that shape hath none - "

has not yet fully persuaded him to drop the Substance for the Shadow. Let him take timely warning, and so avoid the fate of the dog in Aesop's fable.

This textual parallel is matched by the pictorial one: although the dog is of a slightly different, deliberately 'lower' breed, with the additional humanising paraphernalia of well-worn shoes,

patched trousers, out-at-elbow tailcoat and Fenian-style battered hat, the cartoon is an almost exact copy of the illustration.

'Silencing the Trumpet' (April 1870) is another Irish subject, based on the fable 'The Trumpeter taken Prisoner'; the respective designs are dissimilar, but the argument is the same, that 'He who incites to strife is worse than he who takes part in it.' Thus, in the cartoon, Gladstone is pictured as a police constable disarming a Fenian of his only weapon, a trumpet labelled 'Seditious Press'. In this way censorship is condoned on the strength of an old fable.

Gladstone reappears in 'The Egyptian Donkey' (June 1884) [290b]; this is based on 'The Miller, his Son, and their Ass', a long fable for which Tenniel provided six illustrations. The miller and his son are driving their ass to a fair to sell it; along the way people criticise them, first for walking instead of riding, then for one walking while the other rides, then for both riding together. They then turn themselves into a laughing stock by carrying the beast on a pole to save it the trouble of walking, at which it becomes so upset that it breaks loose and falls into the river. The moral drawn is that 'by endeavouring to please everybody [the old man] had pleased nobody, and lost his Ass into the bargain.'

Tenniel's cartoon, featuring Gladstone and Johnny Bull as the miller and his son, is based on the fifth and funniest illustration [35b]. Tenniel has retained the simple outlines and Greek tunics, while the mocking townspeople are particularised as a Frenchman, a Prussian and a Turk. No doubt to provide greater

interaction with these bystanders he has reversed the position of the donkey and his carriers so that they no longer appear to be walking away from the centre of the picture; apart from this the donkey is in exactly the same awkward state, while Gladstone frowns back at his 'son' just as the miller does. To replace the refined language of James' Aesop characters, Johnny Bull calls out familiarly, as if in Cockney tones: 'Hold on, Guv'nor! - Don't mind what they say!!'

It is Gladstone's turn to be anthropomorphised in 'The Lion and his Friends(!)' (August 1889), which is based on Tenniel's illustration to the fable about the old lion whose friends turn against him. Gladstone's controversial Irish policy was losing him support within his own party, and he is depicted here as a lion, lying at the mouth of his cave, with four Liberal MP colleagues nearby: a wolf, an elephant, a monkey up a tree, and a donkey who kicks back at him. Compared with his rival Disraeli, however, Gladstone was treated well by Punch. 'The Ass in the Lion's Skin' (January 1878) [276a], a criticism of Disraeli's bombastic talk of war when others preferred peace, is pictorially close to Tenniel's illustration to the fable of the same title, which also contains a fox who is not fooled by the disguise. The moral of the original fable reads: 'They who assume a character that does not belong to them generally betray themselves by overacting it.'

On another occasion it is the British taxpayer's turn to be metamorphosed. 'The Patient Ass' (April 1896) is a comment on income tax at the burdensome rate of eightpence in the pound; the

ass's situation bears a resemblance to that of his counterpart in 'The Horse and the Loaded Ass', a fable in which a selfish horse refuses to share an ass's burden, until the latter dies of overwork and the entire load is transferred to the horse. A cartoon of the same title (May 1896) comments on the levying of rural rates (borne by the horse) and urban rates (borne by the ass); while the cartoon does not echo Tenniel's illustration to the fable, the situations are close: unfairly, a farmer transfers part of the horse's burden onto the ass.

As the century progressed and the responsibilities of government became greater and more complex, taxes in particular and bureaucracy in general came to give increasing cause for concern. 'The Red-Tape Tangle' (June 1888) [298a] is an almost exact copy by Tenniel of his 'The Lion and the Mouse' [36b], an illustration which contains one of his noblest lions, a realistic representation which he juxtaposes, oddly but rather charmingly, with a touch of anthropomorphism in the mouse's tiny, discarded coat in the lower right. Tenniel's lion of 1848 is far more realistic than the rather idealised, almost sculptural ones in the illustrations of Wenceslaus Hollar [41a] in John Ogilby's The Fables of Aesop, Paraphras'd in Verse of 1665, and of Francis Barlow [41b] in an Aesop's Fables of 1666, both of whom choose to tangle their lions in a net. More appropriate than these nets, at least within the context of Tenniel's cartoon, are the ropes of Party, Red Tape and Officialism. The undergrowth of long grass is similar in illustration and cartoon alike, as is the tree stump around which one of the ropes is tied. The helpful

mouse is absent, however, so that rather than lying in dignified and patient repose the cartoon lion is puffing and blowing ineffectually, a rope wound unaesthetically round his middle. For obvious comic purposes he is less noble than his earlier version, bearing a humanised, exasperated expression on his rather elderly face, so that in more ways than one he is Tenniel's Aesop lion forty years on.

Another illustration skilfully transformed is 'Hercules and the Waggoner' [36a], which Tenniel uses twice in Punch. In the fable a countryman prays to Hercules for help when his wagon becomes stuck in the mud; Hercules appears, only to advise the man that heaven helps those who help themselves. The first cartoon, of the same title (February 1879) [277a], shows an oddly hirsute Mr Punch as Hercules, recommending 'cooperation' to a retail trader: a satirical and rather gloating comment on the hardship being suffered by the socialist Cooperative Wholesale Society during an economic slump. The second cartoon, 'Hercules and the Farmer' (November 1895) [309b], casts the Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, in the role of Hercules, and quotes from a recent speech of his, so abstract in its perplexing wordiness that it meant little in practical terms to the struggling farmer; Salisbury makes a handsome if rather elderly hero, with a close physical resemblance to his Aesop counterpart. These two cartoons, both explicitly described as being based on an old fable, are very similar in composition, as they are to the original illustration, although for greater visual impact the cartoon Hercules figures are larger and more on a level with the

ground. Similarly, while the original waggoner has placed his hat down behind him, the two cartoon men hold theirs pleadingly in their hands, in keeping with their comic portrayal.

Salisbury reappears to some disadvantage in 'The Wind and the Sun' (July 1886), which resembles Tenniel's illustration to the fable of the same name in which the two elements compete in trying to make a man remove his cloak. The more the wind blows, the more tightly the man huddles up, but when the sun shines he has to remove the cloak in order to cool down. Tenniel adapts this idea to show the effect on an Irishman, wearing the tattered coat of Discontent, of the contrasting treatment received from the political rivals Salisbury and Gladstone, the moral being that the former's harsh treatment will never have the desired effect, whereas the latter's kindness makes all the difference in the world.

Monkhouse admires Tenniel's way of conveying humour in Aesop without detracting from the moral purpose;[175] this is equally true of his cartoon versions, in that their comic treatment does not obscure the serious messages that lie behind them. This subtle skill was of great value to Punch, and made a significant contribution towards the magazine's popularity and political influence during the final fifty years of the Victorian period.

## Later Romanticism: The Fifties and Beyond

### Religious Literature

As we have seen, Tenniel's 1840s book illustrations were all rather small, dictated mainly, of course, by the space available on the page. However, as the illustration of books began to develop towards the 'golden age' of the 1860s, the books themselves became larger, growing from duodecimo and octavo sizes to quarto, and Tenniel's designs began to take on a broader, more robust style.

According to Elisabeth Jay, religious writings of all kinds accounted for about one-third of the publishing market in Victorian Britain;[176] it is therefore not surprising that, as the market for illustrated books grew, religious and moral literature was found to be an appropriate vehicle for illustration. Tenniel's favoured outline style, with its sense of nobility and timeless significance, was particularly appropriate to such books, bearing in mind the predominance of classical outline in Bible illustrations at the time. Germany was again of influence here, a prime example being Schnorr von Carolsfeld's substantial volume of woodblock designs, the Bible in Pictures, begun in Rome as early as 1824; its influence was felt all over Europe, a later response being the Dalziel Brothers' Bible Gallery of 1881.

Tenniel's first commission of the fifties was a major one: he was approached in the spring of 1852 by Martin Farquhar Tupper (1810-1889), whose Proverbial Philosophy, a best-selling book of verse modelled loosely on the Old Testament Book of Proverbs, was soon to appear in its nineteenth edition under the imprint of

Thomas Hatchard. Popular with all classes of reader, the book achieved fifty editions between 1838 and 1880, and was translated into a number of languages.[177] British sales did not fall below five thousand copies per year until the mid-1860s, while the total number of copies sold during the nineteenth century has been estimated at nearly half a million.

The book began modestly, with a few lines on marriage for Tupper's future wife. It quickly expanded to cover many aspects of the human condition, including Wisdom, Compensation, Ambition, Humility, Pride, Good and Evil, Prayer, Friendship, Love, Sorrow, and Joy; a second series then appeared, its subjects including Cheerfulness, Authorship, Beauty, Fame, Flattery, Immortality, Faith, Honesty, and Solitude; a third and fourth series were later added. Tupper was a middle-class evangelical; his book represented Christianity at its broadest and most humanitarian, offering stability in spiritually and politically troubled times. His verses were extremely popular: a wide variety of editions appeared, catering for rich and poor alike; the book was a favourite present for birthdays and weddings, and lines from it were carved on tombstones. True to its status as a volume of spiritual guidance, editions often took on a biblical appearance, with their gilt-edged pages and rich, gold-embossed bindings. However, Tupper was a product of his time, unable to move with the times, and all we are left with today is a relatively indigestible set of verses.

The book's peak of popularity in the 1850s led to the 1854 illustrated edition, in which Tenniel's seventeen contributions

appeared alongside those of Myles Birket Foster, E. H. Corbould, John Gilbert, J. C. Horsley, F. R. Pickersgill, Thomas Dalziel, William Harvey and others. Tupper had first offered the entire commission to his friend John Leech, who had illustrated three novels for him; sensibly, Leech expressed doubts as to his own suitability, bearing in mind his comic inclinations, and nothing came of Tupper's invitation. However, Leech's colleague, Tenniel, was eminently suited to the project: Tupper knew his Aesop designs of 1848 as well as his more recent Punch decorative work, and asked him to illustrate the book. It appears that Tenniel had read, and appreciated, Proverbial Philosophy, and his enthusiasm is genuine, if reserved, in the letter which he wrote in reply:

23, Newman Street,
Monday morn:

Dear Sir,

I owe you many apologies for not having written to you before this, but I thought it as well to defer doing so until I could give you the result of my meeting with Mr Hatchard. He seems to be perfectly willing to intrust the illustration of your book to my care - and for myself I can only say that nothing could give me greater pleasure and pride than to be engaged upon it - long ago, when I read the 'Proverbial Philosophy' I felt it to be the subject of all others that I should like to illustrate, and I assure you that the feeling is greatly increased on a second reading; One difficulty presents itself to my mind which is the question of time - it would not do for a work of this character to be hurried, more especially in the matter of engraving for then the designer is a sure victim, tho' everybody suffers more or less - if, however, as Mr Hatchard suggests, the illustrations be limited to about 20 designs I think I see my way clearly enough, but if the number were extended to 30 I should certainly feel compelled, and with much regret, to decline the commission altogether, from the full conviction that I could not do justice to you, the publisher, or myself, in the time between this and the period of publication.

As far as I have at present gone in the book almost

<u>every subject suggests a picture</u>, so that I foresee considerable difficulty as regards selection - should the affair be definitely arranged, perhaps you will kindly assist me, by naming those that you would most wish to be illustrated, and if you will be so good as to appoint your own day and hour for a meeting with Mr Hatchard (any time before 9th May when I leave town for a week) I will hold to the engagement without fail; meanwhile I will make one or two designs to give you some notion of the mode of treatment I should adopt. I am dear Sir

Yours faithfully,
JOHN TENNIEL.

M.F. Tupper Esquire.[178]

Tenniel's insistence on quality rather than quantity shows him to have been quite unlike the over-productive Tupper in artistic temperament: throughout his career he was careful in the extreme, preferring to keep his authors waiting rather than produce substandard work.

Instead of limiting the number of illustrations to the twenty Tenniel suggested, fourteen other artists were invited to contribute, and over sixty illustrations in all went into the book. Many illustrators were clearly inspired by the commission; Horsley wrote to Tupper:

> Your admirable work has been for so long a period a <u>text book</u> of mine, that it would give me very great pleasure to do anything in my power towards its illustration[.][179]

The result was a well-balanced, carefully designed book in quarto size, anticipating the collaborative productions of the sixties, and providing artistic, as well as poetic, consolation in the year of the Crimean War, and for many years to come, for those fortunate enough to own a copy.

The majority of the book's numerous illustrations are in the barest of outlines. Tenniel's contributions are an indication of

his mature artistry, while the larger quarto page gives him the space to experiment with the decorated page technique already seen in his work of the forties. For example, his 'Prefatory' design [50] fills the page, leaving space in the lower right for the opening lines. On the left the poet sits writing at his desk; above him are depicted his vivid thoughts, as detailed in the text, in the form of a vision of heaven and hell, angels and devils, crusaders on horseback, a wedding, a funeral procession, a woman with a cross, a mother with her children, and many other figures. The design reflects the poet's aspirations:

> I will rise to noblest themes, for the soul hath an heritage of glory:
> The passions of puny man; the majestic characters of God;
> The feverish shadows of time, and the mighty substance of eternity.

Each detail suggests a subject from the book: faith, good and evil, marriage, family life, death, immortality, while the lone figure of the poet suggests the section 'Of Solitude' which concludes the second series.

One disappointment as far as the decorated page style is concerned is that Tenniel was not given the opportunity to provide his own ornate initials, which are by Henry Noel Humphreys throughout. In compensation for this, however, there is evidence of Tenniel's growing exploration of the decorative border's potential. In particular, he seems to delight in drawing attention to the border's artificiality, by means of a linking device between it and the enclosed illustration. This is true of his design to 'Of Pride' [53a],

which discusses the subtle ways in which this deadly sin can affect even the devout; Tenniel depicts a young monk on his knees, 'fighting against pride in the simple panoply of prayer', his hands clasped, his troubled face raised; behind and above him hovers a shadowy devil with snarling mouth and raised arms, embodying temptation, while at his back, literally resting against the right-hand border as if against a wall, are the accoutrements of military pride: a suit of armour, a sword and a dagger, and peacock feathers forming an obvious symbol.

For 'Of Education' [56], in which Tupper advises parents to instil in their children a moral sense and the virtues of patience, obedience and trust, Tenniel depicts an idyllic family group, suggestive of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. In response to Tupper's imagery of cultivation, Tenniel encloses the scene within a framework of branches and leaves, emphasised to the left by the father's ladder and long-handled axe which he employs in tending a vine branch, and to the right by the mother's distaff resting against the border at her side.

Finally, Tenniel's skill in composition is exemplified in his design to 'Of Thinking' [55]. Here he has dispensed altogether with the decorative border, but retains the layout of his 'Prefatory' design [50], with text in the lower right, a solitary figure in the lower left and the main illustration above. In this section Tupper recognises the danger both in too little and in too much thought: the mind must be exercised, but ideas alone can be misleading, and 'imagination hath wings as an eagle'. In response to numerous images of birds and flying, and

to the lines:

> For the wearied spirit lieth as a fainting maiden,
> Captive and borne away on the warrior's foam-covered
> steed ...

Tenniel depicts a learned old man closely examining a flower, while above and behind him a young woman has been snatched up by a man on a flying horse, whose outstretched wings dominate the page; to emphasise the sinister aspect of the situation, and to suggest straying thoughts, goblin figures, similar to those in the frontispiece design to The Haunted Man [42a], fly nearby.

Tupper himself dabbled in illustration: the panoramic sublimity of his 'The Hand of Destiny' [59b] from the 1881 edition of Proverbial Philosophy compares well with John Martin's dramatic The Deluge [59a], but his sketch to 'Of Thinking' entitled 'The Soul carried captive by Imagination' [58a], reproduced in an early, limited edition of his book, was deservedly parodied by Richard Doyle in Punch (March 1845) [58b]. Although this appeared some years before Tenniel joined Punch, he may well have been aware of Doyle's parody, and one might therefore have expected him to avoid this particular image, connected as it was with the satirical criticism of Tupper's work. However, the abduction theme is practically unavoidable, since the more abstract arguments on either side of it provide few illustrative clues, and Tenniel's design is, in fact, one of the most successful and inspired in the entire book, conveying a strong sense of drama and movement, and seeming almost to leap out of the page at the viewer.

In 1881 Cassell brought out a large illustrated quarto

volume of all four series of Proverbial Philosophy - two more series than in the 1854 edition - at the optimistic price of half a guinea. Old plates of 'stock' designs had to be added to the designs of 1854 to accompany the third and fourth series, with the result that the book is badly coordinated and the latter half disappointing in comparison with the former. Another drawback lay in the slightly larger page size, which meant that Tenniel had to add a hanging side-curtain to his 'Prefatory' design in order to fill out the extra space. It is sad that a project begun with such hopes and enthusiasm in 1854 should have been followed by such a hotch-potch of an edition. Not surprisingly, it was too expensive to be a success, bearing in mind the inferior quality of some of the illustrations and the reduced popularity of the work itself. The heyday of Tupper's sentimental verses was past, and the man himself was in financial difficulties; a testimonial was organised in 1883 to raise money for him, and Tenniel was one of many to contribute. Tupper died in 1889, and his work has virtually died with him; it is only the illustrations of 1854, seventeen of them by Tenniel, which are capable now of bringing Tupper's 'Thoughts and Arguments' back to life.

Similar in style and subject are Tenniel's contributions [62-66] to the illustrated quarto edition of Robert Pollok's epic poem, The Course of Time, published by Blackwood in 1857; his fellow-artists were again Birket Foster and Clayton. First published in 1827, Pollok's work had enjoyed an immediate and lasting popularity, reaching a twentieth edition by 1851.[180] The

poem is an enthusiastically youthful but austere declaration of Calvinist faith, dwelling upon the sovereignty of God, the inherent corruption of mankind, the need for repentance and conversion to a life of righteousness, redemption through Christ, and the unattractive doctrine of election: God's predetermination of the souls who are to be saved, with the consequent damnation of the remainder. Its epic form, blank verse style, heightened vocabulary and cosmic proportions all echo Paradise Lost: there are angels, heaven and hell, and long narrative passages interspersed with discussion. It soon becomes clear that Pollok's narrator, a knowledgeable 'ancient bard of Earth' [62a], is the poet himself in his future heavenly state.

The Bible itself plays a central role in the poem: Pollok believed it to be the inspired word of God, and therefore of supreme authority. The bard explains how the Bible reveals the truth to anyone willing to read it:

> ... the author, God himself;
> The subject, God and man, salvation, life
> And death - eternal life, eternal death -
> Dread words! whose meaning has no end, no bounds!
> Most wondrous Book! bright candle of the Lord!

Two of Tenniel's illustrations reflect this emphasis in an explicit way. The first depicts a group of people before a large Bible placed on an altar [62b]; the book is supported by a cross to symbolise salvation through Christ's death and resurrection, while the sleeping jester below represents those who are inattentive to God's Word through sloth or folly: as the shadow falling across him suggests, he is an unenlightened man. The second shows a minister visiting a dying, repentant man [66b],

his finger marking a page in his Bible as if he is ready to read from it.

The New Testament book of Revelation is the source for Pollok's prophetic writing; it is from here that he takes his concept of the Millennium, a jubilee period of a thousand years during which good prevails and evil loses its power, and wild animals become docile, so that

> ... sauntering schoolboys, slow returning, played
> At eve about the lion's den, and wove
> Into his shaggy mane fantastic flowers.

This final image of Book V of the poem is reflected in Tenniel's delightful end-piece illustration [64b]. Characteristically, he chose to depict a lion, a contented, semi-human expression on its face as three schoolboys bedeck it with flowers. The picture is similar to the garlanded British Lion in one of Tenniel's Pocket Book designs of the same year [225a] in which the three schoolboys are replaced by Queen Victoria's children; he used it again a few years later for a Punch title page (Vol. 46, 1864) [240a], in which Mr Punch's own imaginary offspring are depicted, together with a little Alice-in-Wonderland prototype. As in the Pollok illustration, both Punch animals are depicted with their heads in semi-profile, and with the same facial expression, all three being images of peace: the 1864 design commemorates the occasion on which war with Denmark against Germany had been narrowly averted, hence the British Lion's docility; for the relieved British public it must have seemed like a taste of Pollok's peaceful Millennium.

Pollok's bard goes on to describe, in retrospect, the

changes which the Millennium had brought. An angel blows a trumpet and people begin to change: the old become young, the sick are made whole, the dying revive, and those who have lost their reason regain it:

> The frantic madman, too,
> In whose confused brain reason had lost
> Her way, long driven at random to and fro,
> Grew sober, and his manacles fell off ...

Tenniel depicts this newly-enlightened man [65b] kneeling in his straw-scattered cell; he is in rags, with shaggy hair and moustache. His shackles have fallen off, and he has discarded the paper crown he has been wearing: an addition of the artist's, suggesting the familiar delusion of kingship. In an almost exact reverse image of the condemned man in Tenniel's illustration to Tupper's 'Of Estimating Character' [54], the prisoner's arms are held up towards a beam of light which shines down upon him, and his hands are clasped as if in prayer.

This illustrated edition of The Course of Time was successful enough to require a reprint in 1862; however, even by 1857 Pollok's Calvinist theology was becoming distinctly unpopular, leading an Art Journal reviewer to comment on the poem:

> it is often harsh, turgid, and vehement, and deformed by a gloomy piety which repels the reader, in spite of the many splendid passages and images that are scattered throughout the work[.][181]

The poem continued to appear, though, even in its unillustrated form, surviving partly through its popularity as a school and Sunday school prize book. The twenty-fourth edition came out in 1863, and in 1868, forty years after Pollok's early death from

consumption, the seventy-eighth thousand was reached. The last edition listed in the British Library catalogue is dated 1869, by which time more than eighty thousand copies had been sold.[182]

In the following year Tenniel contributed three designs to an anthology of religious poetry, Lays of the Holy Land from Ancient and Modern Poets; it is a particularly good example of its kind, anticipating the quarto-sized giftbooks of the sixties, with some copies bound in dark green and gilt, others (possibly the second edition) in purple. Its publishers, James Nisbet and Co., had been established in Berners Street, London, for many years, and specialised in religious literature. The firm's Scottish founder (1785-1854) had been a combination of evangelical Christian and impeccable, self-made businessman: virtuous, devout, hard-working and charitable;[183] after his death in 1854 his influence on the firm in the choice of religious subjects clearly lived on: besides the Lays of the Holy Land there was a Pilgrim's Progress (1857) illustrated by George Thomas, a jointly-illustrated edition of Isaac Watts' Divine and Moral Songs (1867), and The Word: the Star out of Jacob (1868), illustrated by J. D. Watson.

The Dalziel Brothers, who did the engravings for the Lays of the Holy Land, worked on the project with the firm's head, a Mr Watson, and played a coordinating role in the selection of artists and subjects;[184] Tenniel's fellow-illustrators included, again, Birket Foster and Clayton, as well as F. R. Pickersgill, Thomas Dalziel, E. H. Corbould, J. E. Millais and William Harvey. Of the two hundred and ten poems the book contains, sixty-two are

illustrated. Some of the texts are direct quotations from the Bible; there are several anonymous poems, while the remainder are from a wide range of writers including Edmund Spenser, Francis Quarles, John Milton, Richard Crashaw, Alexander Pope, Thomas Campbell, William Cowper, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Watts, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Robert Pollok, Felicia Hemans, John Keble and Alfred Tennyson. The book is ordered so that a sense of chronological progression is achieved from Old to New Testament, concluding with the life, death, and resurrection of Christ.

Tenniel's first design is to R. Turnbull's 'Lament of the Hebrew Minstrel' [81a], set at the time of the Babylonian exile. An old man sits on a rock, his long white hair and beard blowing in the wind, a harp with broken strings lying idle at his side; while this latter image is not mentioned in the text, broken harp strings were a common symbol: for example Maclise shows his 'Minstrel Boy' of 1845 [12a] actively breaking the strings of his harp before he dies, declaring "They shall never sound in slavery". Turnbull's minstrel asks 'Where is thy temple and thy God?' He looks tired and troubled, for he and his people have suffered slavery, and exile from Judah. He is strongly reminiscent of Pollok's bard [62a] of the year before, the only difference being that the latter is not in exile, but contentedly at home in heaven, his troubles past as he narrates the history of mankind. Tenniel's second and third illustrations are to the anonymous 'Rizpah' [81b], based on 2 Samuel 21, and to Byron's 'Destruction of Sennacherib' [82], from 2 Kings 19 and Isaiah 37,

both discussed in more detail later, in the section on Battles and Massacres. Again, all three illustrations are in Tenniel's mature outline style with selective shading.

Four more religious illustrations of Tenniel's appeared in 1858, to Robert Blair's poem The Grave, first published in 1743;[185] along with Birket Foster, Clayton, Thomas Dalziel and others,[186] Tenniel was commissioned by the Edinburgh firm of A & C Black to contribute to a Christmas 1857 giftbook edition. This was clearly intended as an answer to Blackwood's illustrated edition of Pollok's The Course of Time of the previous year; however, at fewer than eight hundred lines, Blair's poem was much shorter than Pollok's ten-book epic, resulting in a somewhat slimmer volume.

Robert Blair (1699-1746) was a Church of Scotland minister, appointed to the living of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, near Edinburgh, in 1731. The Grave was practically his only published work, his main purpose in writing it being a didactic one at a time of renewed evangelical seriousness under the influence of the Wesleys. At the same time, literature of a melancholy, morbid tone was becoming increasingly popular and, in order to make his poem attractive enough for publication, and somewhat against his own inclination, Blair succumbed to the prevailing fashion for gothic verse; this led to The Grave's frequent inclusion in anthologies alongside such poems as Thomas Gray's 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard' (1742-50), and its classification with the so-called Graveyard School of poetry. Its growing popularity is reflected in the gradually increasing sales; after

a slow start, a fifth edition appeared in 1756, a seventh in 1769, a sixteenth in 1786, and a forty-seventh in 1798.

Thanks to its strong visual imagery, the poem had long been considered appropriate for illustration; indeed, a highlight of its long career was an edition in 1808 containing twelve designs by William Blake (1757-1827).[187] However, by the middle of the nineteenth century the poem was arousing mixed feelings: not surprisingly there were misgivings about its subject matter, the Art Journal in 1858 denying the illustrated edition its status as a Christmas giftbook because of its morbid theme.[188] In fact, few editions appeared after this date, which suggests that Blacks had chosen The Grave primarily as a vehicle for illustration, perhaps with an eye to the Blake edition of fifty years earlier, rather than through any genuine appreciation of its text. On the other hand, a romantic taste for the macabre prevailed, and some readers enjoyed the poem for its morbid atmosphere, conjured up in such lines as the following:

> The Grave, dread thing!
> Men shiver when thou'rt nam'd; nature appall'd
> Shakes off her wonted firmness. Ah! how dark
> Thy long-extended realms, and rueful wastes,
> Where nought but silence reigns, and night, dark night,
> Dark as was chaos ere the infant sun
> Was roll'd together, or had tried his beams
> Athwart the gloom profound!

Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) was one who remembered reading it as a child:

> It was Blair's 'Grave' that really delighted me, and I frightened myself with its melodious doleful images in earnest.[189]

It was certainly in this genre that Tenniel excelled, and two of

his four illustrations to The Grave are in a macabre style. His treatment is very much in contrast to that of Blake who, rather than dwell on the physical death and decay emphasised by Blair, takes hints from the text and uses it to express his own ideas on death and immortality. Blake thus depicts vigorous human bodies rising up to heaven on the Day of Judgement [88a], and a semi-erotic reunion of the male body and the female soul on the same occasion [88b], while his only skeleton is pictured in the process of revival by an athletic angel with a trumpet [87a].

Tenniel comes much closer to the poem's graveyard atmosphere. Blair denounces those who abuse their power, and stresses the fact that in the grave the great ruler will look no different from anyone else:

> Alas, how slim - dishonourably slim! -
> And cramm'd into a space we blush to name -
> Proud royalty! How alter'd in thy looks!
> How blank thy features, and how wan thy hue!
> Son of the morning! whither art thou gone?
> Where hast thou hid thy many-spangled head,
> And the majestic menace of thine eyes,
> Felt from afar?

and goes on to speak of the body left 'to rot in state'. While Blake avoids the reality of physical decay in his five entombed effigies [87b], Tenniel depicts a human skull in a dark vault [85b], its ornate helmet, crown, and black funereal plumes suggesting death's usurpation of the ruler's power; the design is reminiscent of his slightly less elaborate memento mori tailpiece to Tupper's 'Of Pride' [53b] of four years earlier. Such designs are an indication of the prevailing taste for the selectively macabre: skeletons and skulls were acceptable, but rotting

corpses had gone out with the gothic novel.

Tenniel's other macabre design illustrates Blair's mockingly fatalistic description of the doctor who cannot ward off his own death:

> Here the great masters of the healing art,
> These mighty mock-defrauders of the tomb,
> Spite of their juleps and catholicons,
> Resign to fate! Proud Aesculapius' son,
> Where are thy boasted implements of art,
> And all thy well-cramm'd magazines of health?
> Nor hill, nor vale, as far as ship could go,
> Nor margin of the gravel-bottom'd brook,
> Escap'd thy rifling hand! From stubborn shrubs
> Thou wrung'st their shy retiring virtues out,
> And vex'd them in the fire. Nor fly, nor insect,
> Nor writhy snake, escap'd thy deep research!
> But why this apparatus? why this cost?
> Tell us, thou doughty keeper from the grave,
> Where are thy recipes and cordials now,
> With the long list of vouchers for thy cures?
> Alas, thou speak'st not. The bold impostor
> Looks not more silly when the cheat's found out.

This apparent contempt for medicine has a literary source in the fourteenth-century 'Vado Mori' poems; these make much of the doctor's ironic vulnerability towards death, with the words 'Vado mori medicus':

> Hurry to die, Doctor, no medicine will help you,
> Whatever potion you take, hurry to die, Doctor.[190]

Tenniel may have recognised a pictorial connection here with the 'Dance of Death' tradition, in which the skeletal figure of Death appears dancing and playing a musical instrument in mockery of his human victim [89a-b]; a later version is Hans Holbein's sixteenth-century 'Dance of Death' series in which a living person encounters the figure of Death, usually at an inappropriate moment, and often with a symbolic hourglass somewhere in the picture [90]. Tenniel's illustration [86b] is,

in fact, reminiscent of a late fifteenth-century Der doten dantz woodcut from southern Germany [89a], showing a physician examining a potion which he holds up in a glass container, oblivious to a skeleton with castanets who dances close by. Tenniel depicts a similar figure pouring out medicine, a pestle and mortar before him on the table; bottles are placed about the room, and a row of books on a shelf. A ghostly, cloaked figure - the symbol of imminent death - looks on, as if waiting patiently for the doctor to join him; its skull-like head is visible, while its semi-transparency allows the viewer to see the long-necked chemical flask which a more solid figure would have obscured.

A similar influence on Tenniel in this respect was Alfred Rethel's modern-day 'Totentanz' series which included such pieces as 'Death the Enemy' (1847), a commemoration of cholera making its appearance at a masquerade in Paris in 1831; 'Death the Servant' (c.1848) and 'Death the Friend' (1851) [32b] followed, while the anti-revolutionary Ein Totentanz aus dem Jahre 1848 (1849) [91] portrays Death as a seducer of the common people. Tenniel reproduces Rethel's distinctive cloaked skeleton in many of his Punch designs, an early example being 'Mortmain' (Vol. 21, 1851) [228b], a sardonic comment on death duties; this was followed over the years by numerous cloaked spectres representing death in the shape of famine, fever, explosion or railway accident,[191] while in other cartoons the ghosts of dead heroes returned to hover at the backs of political leaders and heads of state. Indeed, Tenniel's general fascination with gothic imagery is prevalent throughout Punch: his decorative work and cartoons

alike are full of goblins, ghouls and ghosts, skulls and skeletons.

Tenniel's other two illustrations to The Grave are quite different, reflecting the fact that Blair was not the gloomy man of solitude one might at first imagine, but a moderate and sensible clergyman, alternating contentedly between his fireside and his garden. As the Rev. F. W. Farrar notes in his Preface to the illustrated edition, The Grave displays a

> vein of latent humour by which some may be puzzled, but which a reader of fine sensibility will both appreciate and commend.

An example of this is found in Blair's fulsome description of a set of gullible villagers who prefer pagan superstition to a simple Christian faith:

> Strange things, the neighbours say, have happen'd here.
> Wild shrieks have issu'd from the hollow tombs;
> Dead men have come again, and walk'd about;
> And the great bell has toll'd, unrung, untouch'd!
> Such tales their cheer, at wake or gossiping,
> When it draws near the witching-time of night.

Tenniel matches this exaggerated language with a droll design [85a], portraying six 'neighbours' in an atmosphere of naive superstition, sharing spooky stories; they are simpleton yokels of the type sometimes found in his cartoons, drinking beer and smoking churchwarden pipes in the public house. But also like the cartoons, the design is more moral in content than it might at first appear: the triangular billiards frame on the floor may well be a reference to the old saying about a misspent youth.

Blair was a gentleman of comfortable means and reasonable fortune, with friends among the gentry and an aristocratic and

clerical ancestry dating back to the middle ages. This did not, however, prevent him from holding egalitarian beliefs, evident in his criticism of:

> the petty tyrant,
> Whose scant domains geographer ne'er notic'd,
> And, well for neighb'ring grounds, of arm as short;
> Who fix'd his iron talons on the poor,
> And grip'd them like some lordly beast of prey,
> Deaf to the forceful cries of gnawing hunger,
> And piteous plaintive voice of misery
> (As if a slave were not a shred of nature,
> Of the same common nature with his lord) ...

Tenniel reflects Blair's sense of social injustice in his depiction of a pitiless landlord, rich and well dressed, dealing in cavalier fashion with his poor tenants [86a]. A bailiff in a dark recess calculates the value of the contents of the room; the wife is on her knees, begging for mercy; the husband clasps his hands to his head in despair. To increase the emotional impact on the viewer all the generations are represented, from an old woman with a baby, to an innocent child with a toy, who gazes up at the ferocious landlord as he stalks out of the door. Such scenes of pathos were common in Victorian art, literature and drama, and the illustration is itself a forerunner of some of Tenniel's later Punch cartoons.

These four books - three of them by single authors, one an anthology - are all very much in the style of the jointly-illustrated, high-quality giftbooks of the sixties. Together with the five books discussed in the following section, they constitute a major contribution to the so-called golden era of book illustration: an era in which Tenniel was one of many artists to play a prominent part.

## Anthologies

The latter part of the 1850s was a particularly busy time for Tenniel: besides the religious literature discussed in the previous section, he contributed designs to five jointly-illustrated giftbook anthologies, all of which belong to the golden age of book illustration known as 'The Sixties'. These five books are specifically romantic in context, in that they come under the category of either historical or ballad subjects, or supernatural literature.

One of these books was the Rev. Robert Willmott's Poets of the Nineteenth Century of 1857, containing no fewer than one hundred engravings;[192] its publishers, Routledge, were well in the forefront of such editions, as were the top firm of engravers, the Dalziel Brothers, who coordinated the designs. Tenniel's fellow-artists included J.E. Millais, John Gilbert, Myles Birket Foster, E.H. Corbould, J.R. Clayton, William Harvey, Thomas Dalziel, F.R. Pickersgill, Ford Madox Brown and Arthur Hughes.

As Tenniel's six designs show [70-72], he had by this time progressed from the almost two-dimensional outlines of the British Ballads through to a more three-dimensional, but still fairly plain, outline technique which was well suited to the historical context of his subjects: 'The Friar of Orders Gray' and 'Gentle River', both from Percy's Reliques (1765); two scenes from Sir Walter Scott's epic poems, Marmion and Rokeby, the former depicting the death of the fictitious Lord Marmion in 1513 at the battle of Flodden Field, the latter set in Yorkshire just

after the Battle of Marston Moor; an extract from Mary Russell Mitford's play, Rienzi; and an extract entitled 'The Appeal and the Reproof', from Sheridan Knowles' melodrama, The Hunchback. Thus, whether the setting is medieval Moorish Spain in 'Gentle River' [70b], with Christians fighting Moorish invaders, fourteenth-century Rome in 'Rienzi and his Daughter' [72a], sixteenth-century England in 'Marmion - Dying' [71a], seventeenth-century England in The Hunchback [72b] and 'The Burning of Rokeby' [71b], or an unspecified historical and geographical setting in 'The Friar of Orders Gray' [70a], Tenniel employs his mature outline style to convey the appropriate atmosphere. Three of these designs are discussed in greater detail in the section on Battles and Massacres.

A similar commission came from Chapman and Hall in 1857, for seven illustrations to the Dramatic Scenes of Barry Cornwall, the anagrammatic pseudonym of Bryan Waller Procter (1787-1874),[193] father of Adelaide Anne Procter; his Scenes were first published in 1819 and 1820. Tenniel's fellow-artists included Foster, Clayton, Thomas and Edward Dalziel, James Godwin and William Harvey, and the Dalziels were again the engravers and coordinators.

Tenniel's two subjects, 'Ludovico Sforza' [67] and 'The Falcon' [68], are set in Renaissance Italy. Their specifically dramatic context, which is reinforced by an archaic, pseudo-Shakespearean language, gives Tenniel an opportunity to portray some of the melodramatic poses which were so prevalent on the Victorian stage in the 1850s. 'Ludovico Sforza' is based on

fact, and contains the Jacobean ingredients of passion, intrigue and murder. Sforza was uncle to Galeazzo, the Duke of Milan, who married Isabella, granddaughter of the King of Naples; he was later suspected of having poisoned Galeazzo in order to win Isabella and the dukedom for himself. Only the final scene, in which Isabella poisons Sforza, is imaginary.

Tenniel's first design [67a] introduces Galeazzo and Sforza, both in the ornate dress of sixteenth-century Italian aristocrats; as Galeazzo indicates Isabella, who has appeared at a window, Sforza swings round in shocked amazement, seeing in her a resemblance to a beautiful woman he once knew. Tenniel portrays him as a typically middle-aged stage villain with a pointed beard, anticipating his evil Duke de Guise [155a] of 1864 for Barham's 'The Tragedy'.

Left alone at the end of the scene for the purpose of a revealing, Machiavellian soliloquy, Sforza struggles vainly with his ambition and his passion. Tenniel's tailpiece to Scene I [67b] depicts him in a scheming pose, huddled up in his cloak and with a hand held up to his mouth as he stands deep in treacherous thought. As Michael Booth says of the typical villain:

> Frequently he revealed his devilish plots to the audience in brazen soliloquies and furtive asides - conventions of stage villainy going back to Elizabethan times.[194]

Bernard Partridge's later version of the 'confident villain' of melodrama [69b] belongs to the same tradition.

Scene II is set in Isabella's house; a banquet is laid for Sforza's arrival, which she awaits with impatience. She is sad

and tearful, having been left a widow, and Sforza when he arrives remarks on her solemn looks. She does her best to play the welcoming hostess, replying to his amorous words as best she can. Tenniel's illustration [67c] shows Sforza seated offensively close to her: he is clearly trying to court her, his arm placed behind her, his hat perched on the arm of the couch, but Isabella looks away, her eyes downcast. The fourth illustration [67d] has already been discussed in Part I (pp.64-5). In an electrifying passage Isabella tells Sforza that she has poisoned him in revenge for his murder of her husband, and he dies with her accusations in his ears, his eyes gazing blindly at her even in death. This was the perfect moment for Tenniel to depict, and he uses his dramatic skill to convey the emotional tension of the scene, leaving the reader with the image of a tormented Sforza for ever on the point of death.

Tenniel's first two designs to 'The Falcon' are of particular interest because of his use of the experimental border, already noted in connection with his Aesop and Tupper designs. The tale comes from Boccaccio's Decameron. Frederigo, a poor nobleman, has become reconciled to his poverty, and enjoys the beauty of the sunset; Tenniel's opening illustration [68a] shows him seated in a plain wooden chair, smiling and holding his index finger up to the the falcon, which is perched on his arm, its wings flapping, its beak open. Behind a table stands the elderly servant, Bianca, watching with wry amusement. To represent Frederigo's sole means of subsistence, an occupation in which the falcon plays a leading part, the huntsman's rifle rests

against the border, while his hunting bag hangs by its leather strap from the upper corner.

When Giana, the rich woman whom he loves, appears with her maid, Frederigo feels obliged to offer hospitality, and has no choice but to kill 'Old Mars', his only companion. As the bird lies dying on the ground Frederigo feels remorse as he remembers the falcon's hunting prowess:

> Have I not known thee bring the wild swan down,
> For me, thy cruel master: ay, and stop
> All wanderers of the middle air, for me
> Who killed thee - murdered thee, poor bird; for thou
> Wast worthy of humanity, and I
> Feel with these shaking hands, as I had done
> A crime against my race.

Tenniel's second design [68b] has a dramatic impact after the serenity and happiness of the first. He depicts Frederigo in the same setting, but this time his face is hidden behind his clasped hands and he leans heavily on the table; the falcon lies dead on the ground, its sharp beak still open, its feet in the air, a few stray feathers scattered about. Bianca stands to the right, her back to the viewer as if to suggest her disapproval of Frederigo's action - perhaps she too is weeping. In sharp contrast to the balanced unity and completeness of the earlier, happier scene, the decorative foliage now cuts the picture into two unequal sections, thus separating the two human figures.

Scene II takes place inside the cottage. Giana explains that she has come to ask a favour: her young son is ill, and only Frederigo's falcon can cheer him. On learning that the bird was killed for their supper, Giana is so impressed by the sacrifice that she agrees to marry Frederigo. Tenniel shows Frederigo in a

typical proposal attitude, on one knee before the solemn Giana, his hands clasping hers [68c]. Tenniel's three designs to this tale were reprinted in a Bell and Daldy edition of Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn in 1867, thus giving them a welcome revival ten years after their first appearance.

Next came two illustrations for Charles Mackay's anthology The Home Affections Portrayed by the Poets, a quarto-sized giftbook containing one hundred designs. Dr Mackay (1814-89) was at this time editor of the Illustrated London News, and was also a writer of prose and poetry. His anthology was published by Routledge for Christmas 1857, Tenniel's fellow-artists including Gilbert, Foster, Harvey, Thomas and Edward Dalziel, Clayton, Pickersgill and Millais. For this book Tenniel illustrated Thomas Hood's 'Fair Ines' and William Hamilton of Bangour's 'The Braes of Yarrow', both of which reappeared, together with the illustrations, in Mackay's A Thousand & One Gems of English Poetry of 1872, while The Home Affections was itself reissued in 1873.

'Fair Ines' is a lament by a poor man on the departure of a beautiful young woman 'into the West' to marry the man she loves. Tenniel's design [79b] is in relatively sparse outlines. Again, the context is explicitly historical, with costumes in a courtly renaissance style to match Hood's deliberately archaic language. There is an interesting compositional balance here, reminiscent of Tenniel's monumental designs with their central, elevated female and surrounding figures, as well as a pleasing sense of movement.

'The Braes of Yarrow' [79a], written in the form of a woman's lament on the violent death of her lover, was the last serious ballad Tenniel illustrated. It is interesting to compare his design to that of John Franklin [80] to the version from Scott's Minstrelsy, 'The Dowie Dens of Yarrow', for the Book of British Ballads in 1842. The first point of interest is the fact that a more natural, unframed illustration was by this time superseding the decorated page style of the 1840s, and that Franklin's deceptively simple outline design is replaced by Tenniel's more realistic style, with its complex shading. While Franklin's focal point is the dying man, embraced by the woman and looked down at by his killer, Tenniel presents a simple but powerful picture with the minimum of two men and two horses in telling juxtaposition. He also chooses a later moment than Franklin in the action of the ballad, showing the killer in the foreground, riding away from his distant, fallen victim and towards the viewer as if to suggest the forced marriage that is to follow. The killer's dark horse symbolises evil in contrast to the young man's white horse which, as in 'The Prince and the Outlaw' [29], and in the absence of the grieving woman, serves as a focussing device toward the point of sympathy.

One of the finest giftbooks to which Tenniel contributed was The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe, published by Sampson Low for Christmas 1857; Foster and Pickersgill were again fellow-illustrators,[195] and there were just over fifty illustrations, engraved by J. Cooper. Tenniel's status by this date is reflected in the positioning of his name second only after that

of Pickersgill, who was by this time an RA; a further indication lies in the fact that he was given Poe's most famous poem, 'The Raven', to illustrate [74-75]. The book was popular enough to be reissued, despite competition from other illustrated editions, in 1866, 1871 and 1882, and by the mid-sixties Tenniel was clearly regarded as its foremost artist, for the words 'Illustrated by Tenniel' appear on the ornately decorated red, blue, black and gilt front covers of the editions of 1866 and 1871.

The supernatural genre was a popular one, and Poe's poetry, as well as his melodramatic tales of mystery, horror and sensation, followed on from the gothic fiction of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries whose heightened emotional situations aimed to create a sense of awe in the reader. One reason for the immediate and enduring success of 'The Raven' rests in its strong visual qualities; its well-chosen images burn themselves into the reader's imagination: an effect Poe was clearly seeking. 'The Raven' made its writer famous, as much in Europe as in America, and contemporary readers' reactions convey something of its impact. One letter of admiration came from Elizabeth Barrett, whose poetry Poe had reviewed in magazine articles in America, and to whom he had dedicated his 1845 volume. Barrett's relish of the poem's sensationalism, even if it is expressed with tongue in cheek, is clear; 'The Raven' had

> produced a sensation, a 'fit horror', here in England. Some of my friends are taken by the fear of it and some by the music. I hear of persons haunted by the 'Nevermore', and one acquaintance of mine who has the misfortune of possessing a 'bust of Pallas' never can bear to look at it in the twilight.[196]

Similarly in America, a Mrs Lewis was so greatly affected by the poem that she 'kept in her studio a bust of Pallas with a stuffed raven perched on its helmet', while Sarah Helen Whitman was photographed 'as Pallas without the raven', for which she 'wore a helmet similar to the old-fashioned fireman's helmet'.[197] These two examples might appear to be ridiculous real-life parodies of the poem, but such re-enactments simply serve to illustrate, quite literally, its strong visual and theatrical pull, and shows how easily 'The Raven' translates itself into pictorial and three-dimensional representation.

One advantage for artists working in the black-and-white medium so prevalent in the nineteenth century must have been Poe's predominant use of black and white, with only an occasional dramatic splash of red or purple. Poe's colours are symbolic, representing the dichotomy between the materialism of everyday life and the spiritual, eternal qualities of art: thus, white stands for harmony, unity and perfection, and black for evil, fear and loss.[198] This monochromatic emphasis is well suited to Poe's gothic settings, giving rise to designs whose predominantly dark shading contrasts with sharply-defined areas of bright light.

'The Raven' marked the culmination of Poe's early writings. After first appearing in periodical form around 1844, it was published in The Raven and Other Poems in 1845. Significantly, N. Bryllion Fagin, who sees Poe as a frustrated actor, describes the poem as 'a little drama, or monodrama, in verse form';[199] Poe employs the theatrical techniques of well-timed moments of

suspense and revelation to produce emotional reactions in the reader. To the same end he exploits the supernatural, nightmare quality of the gothic genre, adding his own special ingredient, an undercurrent of symbolism, to leave the reader puzzled and intrigued. Poe supplies precise details of furniture and 'props' for his settings, which are often gloomy, enclosed, stage-like areas with strategically-placed lighting. All of this is of obvious significance to the illustrator: Poe's works, with their concrete details, special lighting effects and dramatic moments lend themselves perfectly to the visual medium, and it is not surprising that from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day Poe's poems and tales have appeared in such a profusion of paintings[200] and illustrated volumes.

This peculiarly theatrical quality in Poe's work and personality must have appealed to Tenniel, whose four designs to 'The Raven', placed first as is customary in editions of the poems, set the gloomy, mysterious atmosphere for the entire volume. For his first design [74a] Tenniel follows explicit textual detail on lighting, furnishings and other props to depict a typically gothic setting; thus we see 'many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore', one of which, as directed, rests on 'a cushioned seat' with a 'velvet lining that the lamplight gloated o'er'. The dark room indicates the time - 'a midnight dreary' - and the sombre young man appears suitably 'weak and weary' as he ponders over his books. Tenniel displays a mastery of atmospheric suggestion in his dramatic contrast between the heavy, widespread blackness and the isolated patches

of bright, white light; the table lamp throws its beams over the young man's books, while from above, but as yet out of sight, is cast the shadow of the bust of Pallas, with a dim shaft of light on either side.

Tenniel's unerring sense of drama leads him to depict the moment at which the young man is woken from a doze by the sound of tapping; there is a slight, audible movement of the curtains:

> And the silken sad uncertain rustling of each purple
> curtain
> Thrilled me - filled me with fantastic terrors never
> felt before ...

One imagines the young man's heartbeat quickening in time to the poem's obsessive metre, and Tenniel, true to the conventions of melodrama, shows a face full of emotional significance, the eyes staring out of the picture as if to ask his audience what this sound might be.

In the absence of costume and other details, Tenniel gives his hero dark, wavy, shoulder-length hair, an open, white collar and a loose dressing gown. This is the image of the typical German romantic actor that Poe affected, a combination of the isolated, Byronic poet and a nineteenth-century Hamlet:

> A strange being, with long, wild hair, black if possible, framing a pale, emaciated face; deep, melancholy eyes under dark, contracted brows, and a bitter, sorrowful smile on his quivering lips ...[201]

Tenniel has recognised his author's tendency towards dramatic self-projection, and seems to have deliberately modelled the young man's appearance on Poe himself, portraits of whom were readily available in many volumes of his works, both American and English, including a daguerreotype in the Sampson Low illustrated

edition itself. Tenniel thus presents a remarkably close picture of Poe, who frequently gave dramatic recitations of 'The Raven' at social gatherings. As Fagin states, his

> manner of setting the stage for its reading indicates that the effect he wished to create was definitely preconceived. "He would," recalls one lady, "turn down the lamps till the room was almost dark, then standing in the centre of the apartment he would recite those wonderful lines in the most melodious of voices; gradually becoming more and more enthused ... he forgot time, spectators, his personal identity. ... To the listeners came the sounds of falling rain and waving branches; the raven flapped his dusky wings above the bust of Pallas, and the lovely face of Lenore appeared to rise before them. So marvelous was his power as a reader that the auditors would be afraid to draw breath lest the enchanted spell be broken." It was by means of such theatrical expedients that he made people feel that to hear him repeat "The Raven" was "an event in one's life."[202]

Poe's love of illusion is further borne out by the fact that 'If the reading took place during the day, he would "shut out the daylight and read by an astral lamp."' The lighting in Tenniel's design is the equivalent of this striving after effect.

Comparison of Tenniel's depiction of the young man with an early 1840s daguerreotype of Poe [76] shows a similarity in hairstyle, in the broad temples, well-proportioned nose, rounded chin, well-formed eyebrows and pallid complexion, while the omission of the moustache is in keeping with the hero's youthful romanticism. First-hand accounts confirm the impression: a number of acquaintances described the pale, practically white face, the large, shining, sometimes penetrating dark eyes (partly a sign of opium-taking), the Grecian nose and the broad temples.[203] A Mrs Osgood also conveys something of Poe's self-conscious theatricality in her perceptive account of

> the white, fine skin of a face that had upon it an expression of questioning like that of a child, a shade of anxiety, a touch of awe, of sadness; a look out of the large, clear eyes of intense solitude.[204]

What Mrs Osgood saw at first hand - questioning, anxiety, awe, sadness, solitude - is something which pervades much of Poe's writing: indeed, the protagonist of 'The Raven' experiences just these five states in exactly the same order.

Tenniel's second design [74b] depicts the next dramatic climax: the young man is invaded by his unwelcome visitor:

> Open here I flung the shutter, when, with many a flirt and flutter,
> In there stepped a stately Raven of the saintly days of yore.
> Not the least obeisance made he; not a minute stopped or stayed he;
> But, with mien of lord or lady perched above my chamber door ...

A further view of the sumptuously-furnished room is given: the rich velvet curtains whose rustling had so affected the narrator's state of mind, a cushioned window seat to match the other furniture, and the thick, almost tangible carpet, wrinkling slightly under the pressure of the hero's feet. The raven itself is shown on the point of landing, its wings outstretched, its feet and legs tensed, its beak tilted arrogantly upwards, its look of 'grave and stern decorum' conveyed by an evil-looking eye glinting with menace. In contrast to the bird's movement, the young man stands motionless, his hand held delicately up to his chin in a consciously theatrical pose of consternation.

Tenniel's third illustration [75a] depicts the grieving young man's vision of his 'lost Lenore'. He imagines at first that the raven has come to comfort him and help him forget his

sorrow, but he is soon corrected in his assumption:

> Then, methought, the air grew denser, perfumed from an unseen censer
> Swung by Seraphim whose footfalls tinkled on the tufted floor.
> "Wretch," I cried, "thy God hath lent thee - by these angels he hath sent thee
> Respite - respite and nepenthe from thy memories of Lenore!
> Quaff, oh quaff this kind nepenthe and forget this lost Lenore!"
> Quoth the Raven, "Nevermore."

He asks the bird whether he will ever see his 'sainted maiden' again - the reply is predictable. Tenniel depicts him in a characteristically melodramatic pose, reminiscent both of his Haunted Man title page of 1848 [42a] and of the poisoning scene in 'Ludovido Sforza' [67d]. In profile this time, the poet is seated, one hand clasped to his head, the other tightly gripping the chair arm. Three angels hover in a bright shaft of light, grouped around the 'rare and radiant maiden' whose death has left the hero inconsolable: her eyelids are closed, her hands clasped coyly before her. Tenniel may well have been influenced here by E.H. Wehnert's frontispiece [77a] to an illustrated Poetical Works of 1853,[205] for he echoes the vision of Lenore and the angels, the raven's falling shadow and the side view of the seated poet. While Tenniel achieves a dramatic contrast in his diagonal sectioning of the room into dark and light areas, this is the least successful of his four designs, for the simple reason that, as in the text, two distinct modes are in operation: angels, belonging as they do to sentimental Christian literature, seem out of place in a sensationalised gothic setting. However, his young man is more successful than the over-romanticised,

rather pretty-looking hero with the exaggeratedly melodramatic pose in a full-page plate by H. Anelay [77b] which later replaced Wehnert's design: Pallas too has lost her masculinity, and the entire design lacks the requisite gothic atmosphere.

There is in 'The Raven' an implicit link between the unchanging image of the dead girl and the solidity of the Pallas sculpture, both in their own way representing for Poe the eternal quality of artistic achievement. Tenniel reflects this connection in his tailpiece illustration [75b] by portraying Pallas, like Lenore, with closed eyelids and slightly bowed head. And, with a true dramatic sense of his own, he has delayed the appearance of the bust until this moment, when Pallas is revealed for the first and only time, with the raven perched oppressively upon her head. The shape of this final design is significant: whereas the first three are arch-shaped, this one is circular, and thus symbolic of eternity, reinforcing the suggestion in the last two stanzas that the raven, perched resolutely on the bust, will never leave it. Having ordered the bird to leave and heard its one-word refusal, the narrator ends:

> And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still
> is sitting
> On the pallid bust of Pallas, just above my chamber
> door;
> And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon's that is
> dreaming,
> And the lamplight o'er him streaming throws his shadow
> on the floor;
> And my soul, from out that shadow that lies floating on
> the floor,
> Shall be lifted - nevermore!

Pallas was the Greek goddess of wisdom, the arts and warfare; protector of her people, she was depicted as tall, masculine and

composed, and wore a helmet to represent her military nature. Poe must have chosen her primarily to symbolise his own creativity, and it is the fear that his poetic gift will be sullied by the intrusion of common, everyday reality, in the form of the raven's parasitic materialism, that motivates the poem. Tenniel's raven stands in perfect symmetry, its head and beak pointing straight down and, because of the lamplight from above, it casts a shadow over the bust and into the room. Symmetry kills art, and the overshadowing by the raven of the patron goddess of the arts is a symbol for the poet's loss, or fear of loss, of his poetic gift. Tenniel's design confirms the fear that the incubus-like bird is sure to survive for at least as long as the marble bust he perches on, repeating his "Nevermore" until the end of time.

Another, rather different book to which Tenniel contributed in this period was Passages from the Poems of Thomas Hood, published for the Junior Etching Club by Gambart in 1858, containing thirty-four folio-sized, steel-engraved plates by such artists as Charles Keene, Henry Moore and J.E. Millais. Tenniel's illustration comes third; it is to Part I, Stanza 17 of 'The Elm Tree', first published in the New Monthly Magazine in September 1842. The dark wood in Tenniel's design is suggestive of an element of mystery in the poem, in which the narrator's imagination is fired by whispering sounds he hears coming from a tree. He thinks of what may have taken place here in the past: stolen goods may have been shared out, someone may have hanged himself, a burial may have taken place, plots hatched, and sinful

appointments kept.

The representative stanza chosen for Tenniel's illustration concerns an imaginary conversation taking place between the trees:

> Mayhap, rehearsing ancient tales
> Of greenwood love or guilt,
> Of whisper'd vows
> Beneath their boughs;
> Or blood obscurely spilt.

Just as the tree is central to the poem, so Tenniel places it centrally in his design, a character in its own right. Its trunk is dark and thick; ferns grow from its roots, which are like twisted fingers reaching into the grassy earth, while a twist in the bark of the tree adds to the sinister atmosphere. The wood retreats into the distance, with shadowy silhouettes of the other trees.

To this Tenniel adds the human element: not the poet wandering through the wood, but some of the imaginary characters from the past, acting out their parts in the history of the tree. The period he chooses is the seventeenth century, a popular one with Victorian artists: a Roundhead, his face barely visible in the shadow, kneels tensely behind the treetrunk, his hat discarded among the ferns as he aims his crossbow at two distant figures, a man and a woman in Royalist costume, suggested by the lines:

> ... Beauty kept an evil tryste,
> Insnared by Love and Hope.

The design is a masterpiece of detail, giving Tenniel an opportunity to display his knowledge of period costume: the

bowman's large, leather kneeboots with spurs attached, his sword suspended from a shoulder strap by four leather buckles; the cavalier's cloak, sword and feathered hat. The sinister darkness of the wood is alleviated by two small patches of white in the bowman's tunic, and a feather on the Cavalier's hat. Tenniel integrates the tree with human history by placing the Roundhead close to it, and by echoing the twist of the treetrunk in the man's contorted position. This sense of suspended movement creates a tension: Tenniel has chosen a dramatic moment of suspense which accords well with the breathless anticipation in the poem.

Hood's 'The Elm Tree' may well have influenced another poem, 'The Way in the Wood', by the Scottish poet Isa Craig (1831-1903), which was illustrated by Tenniel for the magazine Good Words in 1864 [149]. His design is full of atmosphere and dramatic tension, again with a tree as the focal point. To accompany the lines:

> She hath reach'd a tree whose head
> Still is green, whose heart is dead

he depicts a frightened young woman in a wood; her hair is long and wet, and she holds her clothes round her for warmth. He captures the moment just before the woman finds her knight lying dead under a clump of ferns near a hollow, ivy-covered tree: the viewer can see the body but the woman cannot. Again, it is Tenniel's unerring sense of suspended drama that ensures the success of his illustration.

## Battles and Massacres

The cultural output of the Victorian period reflects a consuming interest in the subjects of conflict, patriotism and heroism. As Michael Booth explains:

> ... at the beginning of the nineteenth century Englishmen lived in stirring times, times of revolution and war and heroically patriotic deeds. This was the England of Trafalgar and Waterloo, of Nelson and Wellington ...[206]

This resulted in some spectacular theatrical re-enactments of great battles, loosely based on contemporary or recent events. Astley's Amphitheatre, located at the southern end of Westminster Bridge, was a popular venue for these: as a scene from the military drama The Battle of the Alma (1855) [61a] suggests, Astley's combination of stage area and circus ring was an ideal setting for these vigorous, large-scale productions. And for those who wished to create more intimate stagings, Pollock's Toy Theatre produced its own 'Battle of Waterloo' [61b].

Tenniel was himself a regular visitor to Astley's, and it is possible to trace the influence of military drama in his work. A stage direction in J.H. Amherst's The Invasion of Russia (1825) describes a typical scene of desolation with:

> carts overset; horses dead, immense piles of dead bodies heaped on one another, cannon, &.c. A few wretches huddled here and there, and perishing.[207]

Scenes like this were common to such dramas, and, as we shall see, several of Tenniel's war subjects rely upon a clutter of bodies, horses and military equipment, while his stormy skies, reflecting a sense of tragic desolation, owe something to John Martin's cataclysmic romantic landscapes [59a].

The phenomenon of military melodrama lasted far into the century; at the same time war was a frequent subject with writers while, most relevant in Tenniel's case, the genre of battlescene painting had long been a major one. A predominant factor in these paintings is the emphasis on physical realism, in paradoxical juxtaposition with an idealised heroic treatment: this is evident, for example, in Maclise's Wellington and Nelson frescoes in the Houses of Parliament which, although not disguising the horrors of war, focus on a great leader.

Tenniel's training under Cornelius in 1845 would have been an excellent preparation for his work in this realistic-idealistic style, and his own battle and massacre scenes would have made exciting fresco subjects had the opportunity ever arisen for him as it had for Maclise. In the very year of Tenniel's Munich visit, Cornelius produced his Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse [3], a typically romantic fresco design full of cluttered, swirling movement, with an unequivocal emphasis on destruction.

Canto III of Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (1812-18) provided Tenniel with his first opportunity in this genre. He contributed two illustrations to the Art-Union's Thirty Illustrations of Childe Harold (1855), a one-guinea, quarto-sized giftbook produced along similar lines to the 1848 Milton discussed in Part I (pp.56-7). Among its seventeen illustrators were C.W. Cope, T. Faed, John Gilbert, H.C. Selous and E.H. Corbould, and nine separate engravers were employed. Each illustration is given a full-page plate, while the poem's length

meant that only the stanzas singled out for illustration were printed.

Byron has been popular with illustrators for a number of reasons. Artists and publishers alike have found inspiration in his works, while his personal fame as a poet and controversial aristocrat has led to numerous portraits, busts and statues: Tenniel's own Byron portrait [189a] in W.H. Miller's The Mirage of Life (1867) is itself in bust form. Byron's untimely death in 1824 did not diminish his popularity, for the preoccupations of his poetry - the futility of war, set against a fascination with mass destruction, the isolation of the individual, the assumed pose of Romantic ennui - were to remain of universal relevance for some time to come, only decreasing in importance with the aggressive imperialism of the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Childe Harold offers a shifting panorama, from country to country, from peace to war, from foreign temptress to mysterious, romantic hero; its initial popularity led to the illustrated edition contributed to by Thomas Stothard in 1814 [44]. Numerous illustrated editions followed and, as the Art-Union volume indicates, enthusiasm was still running high in the mid-1850s, another example being the ambitious Illustrated Byron (1854-55), published by Vizetelly in octavo-sized parts with approximately two hundred engravings.[208]

Canto III appeared in 1816, soon after Byron's journey through Belgium, which included a visit to the battlefield of Waterloo. Here he had been shown the place where his cousin,

Major Frederick Howard (1785-1815), mentioned in stanza 29, had supposedly fallen.[209] The battle and its aftermath form the central focus of the canto. To set the scene the poet imagines the 'fair women and brave men' of Brussels making merry, unaware at first of the sounds of war gathering like a storm in the distance. Byron creates a realistic picture of the effects of war on humanity: as the truth of the situation becomes clear there are 'sudden partings', with a sense of irretrievable loss in the image of 'the unreturning brave' whose bodies are 'to be trodden like the grass' which will eventually cover them. There is little glorification of war here, only a sense of its futility and horror, as stanza 28 suggests:

> Last noon beheld them full of lusty life,
> Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay,
> The midnight brought the signal-sound of strife,
> The morn the marshalling in arms, - the day
> Battle's magnificently-stern array!
> The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which when rent
> The earth is covered thick with other clay,
> Which her own clay shall cover, heaped and pent,
> Rider and horse, - friend, foe, - in one red burial blent!

Tenniel chooses a moment of stillness after the battle [60a] to reflect this evocation of death and desolation. His illustration is reminiscent of Amherst's stage direction, the ground littered with the bodies of men and horses, a broken carriage wheel lying nearby. The focal point is a fallen white horse, with the young Major Howard lying back against its side. The sky is dark in contrast to a few isolated areas of light, in particular the officer's white shirt and pallid face, and the horse's head, these few cold patches being suggestive of moonlight.

A similar scene appears in 1857 in Willmott's Poets of the Nineteenth Century: 'Marmion - Dying' [71a] accompanies a scene from Scott's six-canto poem of 1808, Marmion, A Tale of Flodden Field, set in the sixteenth century. Tenniel shows the fictitious Lord Marmion, wounded in battle, lying back against Sir Ralph De Wilton, who is disguised as a palmer. To symbolise his defeat, Marmion holds a broken sword in his right hand, and part of his armour lies discarded on the ground. There is a touching element of Christian forgiveness in the design: Marmion had previously contrived to convict Sir Ralph of treason in order to win Lady Clare for himself; now both Sir Ralph and Lady Clare minister to him at his death. As in 'The Prince and the Outlaw' [29] and 'The Braes of Yarrow' [79a], Tenniel reinforces the focus of the design by placing Marmion's attentively watching horse in the background.

Tenniel found this kind of composition a useful formula: he also adapted it for Byron's 'Destruction of Sennacherib' (1815), a short poem based on 2 Kings 19 and Isaiah 37, included in Nisbet's Lays of the Holy Land (1858) [82]. To represent the supernatural defeat of the Assyrian army Tenniel shows the bodies of men and horses littering the ground:

> Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,
> That host on the morrow lay withered and strown.

Flying overhead is a ghostly, cloaked figure:

> For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
> And breathed in the face of the foe as he pass'd;
> And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
> And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew
> still!

The recumbent horse, a glazed eye still open, occupies the centre foreground in reverse image to the Waterloo scene, its rider still holding its reins to indicate the sudden transition from advance to defeat; the only obvious difference is the necessarily oriental style of the horse's trappings and of the dead soldier's clothing and equipment. When compared to Pickersgill's illustration to the same poem for Willmott's Poets of the Nineteenth Century [83a] a very different treatment is apparent: there are no horses here, only suffering human figures, while the Angel of Death occupies a much larger proportion of the available area.

Yet another of Tenniel's illustrations closely echoes the Waterloo and 'Sennacherib' designs: this is a full-page plate [131] to the 1862 anthology Passages from Modern English Poets, published by Day & Son for the Junior Etching Club; Tenniel's fellow-illustrators included J.M. Whistler and J.E. Millais. His design serves to illustrate two poems: S.T. Coleridge's 'War and Glory' and Thomas Penrose's 'The Battle-field'. The emotional focus of the design is centred on a woman, grieving over a pale, wounded man who lies back against his dead white horse. The bleak landscape stretches out into the distance, the cold light of dawn visible above the dark and distant mountains.

Tenniel's second Childe Harold illustration contrasts dramatically with his first, and it is a sign of his versatility that he was able to accommodate Byron's change of viewpoint: while his Waterloo scene is an example of modern realism, elaborately painterly in its treatment, the second, to match the

romantic nostalgia of Byron's verse, is in little more than bare outlines to suggest a remote historical period. Harold's romantic contemplation on the beauties of nature and on ruined, 'tenantless' castles has led to thoughts of imaginary ancient times when banners fluttered in the wind, soldiers were brave and battles spectacular. Through their sheer unchronicled anonymity these men appear enigmatic, their deeds made attractive through historical distance. Realistic about a battle which had taken place in the previous year, Byron finds these ancient stories glamorous and exciting, as stanza 49 suggests:

> In their baronial feuds and single fields,
> What deeds of prowess unrecorded died!
> And Love, which lent a blazon to their shields,
> With emblems well devised by amorous pride,
> Through all the mail of iron hearts would glide;
> But still their flame was fierceness, and drew on
> Keen contest and destruction near allied,
> And many a tower for some fair mischief won,
> Saw the discoloured Rhine beneath its ruin run.

Tenniel depicts an imaginary conflict between rival medieval barons [60b]. Smoke billows from the castle battlements as soldiers skirmish in the middle and foreground, their bristling spears receding into the distance to create an illusion of depth. The design has the impact of a frozen moment: a horseman has just fallen, his face contorted with pain, one foot still in the stirrup, his sword half-submerged in the Rhine, while his opponent snatches up a fainting woman from the fallen horse. The placing of the river at the lower edge creates an intentionally cramped feeling, further compacted by the pair of feet just visible on the right, while the horse at the centre is nearly treading on the fallen rider. The design is a typically romantic

one, full of violence and breathtaking activity, while the archaic setting ensures a safe, historical distance.

Tenniel found this action-filled design to be another useful formula, for it reappeared two years later in his illustration to 'Gentle River' [70b] for Willmott's Poets of the Nineteenth Century. His design accompanies the lines:

> Lords, and dukes, and noble princes,
> On thy fatal banks were slain ...

and employs the same viewpoint as before, with the same receding perspective; a horseman is again the central focus, this time turned away from the viewer, wearing similar chainmail and wielding the same medieval axe. A pair of legs projects into the design from the lower left, while a corpse lies on the riverbank, its head submerged and its mouth open. Two later echoes appear in Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh (1861) [117a] and in the 'Battle of Gilboa' (Good Words, 1862) [133a], both having a horseman central to the frenzied activity.

Another action-filled design is an illustration to Robert Pollok's The Course of Time (1857). With the relatively recent French Revolution clearly in his mind, Pollok denounces bloody rebellion, stirred up by those with an unscrupulous lust for power:

> When in the multitude it gathered strength,
> And, like an ocean bursting from its bounds,
> Long beat in vain, went forth resistlessly,
> It bore the stamp and designation, then,
> Of popular fury, anarchy, rebellion;
> And honest men bewailed all order void,
> All laws annulled, all property destroyed:
> The venerable murdered in the streets,
> The wise despised, streams red with human blood,
> Harvests beneath the frantic foot trod down,

Lands desolate, and famine at the door.

Despite its medievalised costumes, Tenniel's design [64a] reflects the implicit historical context through the distinctive Republican cap held aloft on the tip of a sword. The overall impression of anarchy reflects Pollok's view that the strength of the mob is unnatural: there is a sense of movement and drama as men make off with stolen property, their swords raised and a torch flaring as if to threaten further destruction. A broken wheel and axle symbolise the overthrow of order, while the struggle of good against evil is represented by the woman at the centre, striving to prevent a bearded man from stabbing a priest, an earlier victim already lying dead in the opposite corner.

One further example, again from Willmott, is 'The Burning of Rokeby' [71b], from Scott's six-canto poem, Rokeby, of 1813. The scene is set at Rokeby in Yorkshire in 1644, after the battle of Marston Moor, and shows a struggle between a group of Roundheads and a valiant single Cavalier; Tenniel achieves a dramatic sense of movement here, assisted by the billowing clouds of smoke which also serve as a natural framework to the design.

Tenniel's most idealised battlescene appears in Once A Week (1861). This is a romantic portrayal of the Greek leader Marco Bozzaris in an illustration to Theodore Martin's poem 'Mark Bozzari', a translation from Wilhelm Müller. For this Tenniel chooses an early moment in the conflict to picture Bozzaris, later killed by the Turks during the first siege of Missolonghi in 1823, leading a night-time battle charge, made dramatic by the curved, glinting swords and flaring torches [129]. The influence

of oriental-gothic drama is in evidence here, the scene being reminiscent of two Skelt's Toy Theatre figures from a Bluebeard play [61c], which combined opulence of costume with exciting swordfights between heroes and villains.

The American poet William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) in some ways leads on from Byron, whose work influenced him in his early days; like a number of his fellow-countrymen, while recognising the need for his native literature to become independent of its European roots, he showed a deep interest in European culture.[210] Bryant's first poems appeared in 1821, and the first illustrated edition in 1847; he quickly became popular in England, a complete poetical works with plate illustrations being published in London by Knight & Son in 1854. This was followed in 1858 by the octavo edition to which Tenniel contributed three designs; published by D. Appleton in New York and Sampson Low in London, it contains seventy-one Dalziel engravings, Tenniel's fellow-artists including Birket Foster, William Harvey, Thomas and Edward Dalziel, J.R. Clayton, F.R. Pickersgill and Harrison Weir. Bryant supervised editions of his works on both sides of the Atlantic until 1876, and must therefore have followed the production of this one closely; he may also have chosen which illustrations to include in later editions: for example an 1873 volume, published by Henry S. King, contains twenty-four from the 1858 edition, including Tenniel's 'The Massacre at Scio' and several of Birket Foster's.

While Birket Foster's delicate landscape designs reflect Bryant's Wordsworthian response to nature, the poems which

Tenniel illustrated are evidence of the poet's desire to appeal to his readers' emotions. All three are European in subject, with a strong human focus: 'The Massacre at Scio' [73a] shows that Bryant sympathised, like Byron, with oppressed nations, while 'The Death of Aliatar' [73b] and 'William Tell' indicate his attraction toward heroic figures. These were all subjects at which Tenniel excelled.

Tenniel's illustration to 'The Massacre at Scio' is of particular interest here. Although clearly built up from pure outlines, it is full of painterly shading, and an excellent example of the way in which he was able to represent contrasts of light and shade through a skilful variety of densities and textures. The poem was written in response to an event which took place in 1822 at Scio, or Chios, a small Greek island in the Aegean, vulnerable in its proximity to the Turkish mainland. It is brief enough to quote in full:

> Weep not for Scio's children slain;
> Their blood, by Turkish falchions shed,
> Sends not its cry to Heaven in vain
> For vengeance on the murderer's head.
>
> Though high the warm red torrent ran
> Between the flames that lit the sky,
> Yet, for each drop, an armed man
> Shall rise, to free the land, or die.
>
> And for each corpse, that in the sea
> Was thrown, to feast the scaly herds,
> A hundred of the foe shall be
> A banquet for the mountain-birds.
>
> Stern rites and sad shall Greece ordain
> To keep that day along her shore,
> Till the last link of slavery's chain
> Is shattered, to be worn no more.

Bryant's belief in national independence is matched by his

emotional reference to divine and human vengeance. In his own later note on the poem he expresses views with which Byron would have sympathised:

> This poem, written about the time of the horrible butchery of the Sciotes by the Turks ... has been more fortunate than most poetical predictions. The independence of the Greek nation which it foretold, has come to pass, and the massacre, by inspiring a deeper detestation of their oppressors, did much to promote that event.[211]

The first artist to depict the massacre was the French history painter Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). Like Bryant, Delacroix was influenced by the works of Byron; he exhibited his controversial Massacre of Chios in Paris in 1824 at a time when realism in art was frowned upon. Tenniel was no doubt aware of this large, romantic painting, if only in reproduction, but whereas Delacroix chooses a daytime setting, with blue sky, Tenniel depicts the aftermath [73a], showing the horror of the massacre at a moment in which destruction and desolation are found in equal balance. While Delacroix presents several human figures, most of them facing the viewer, Tenniel's emotional focus rests upon a single female figure to whom the first line of the poem seems to address itself; her back to the viewer, she provides an effective lead-in to the picture and encourages participation in it as she cradles one of the corpses. From her the eye is drawn down to the dead man, then to the confusion of bodies piled up on the right, reminiscent again of Amherst's stage direction. The eye is then led upward to the broken wall and the charred and smoking blocks of wood which, pointing like mutilated fingers appealing to the sky, together with the

billowing and rising smoke, echo Bryant's confidence in divine retribution, while a raised arm to the right holding a dagger in its hand is symbolic of his promise of human vengeance. Tenniel's design is more compressed than Delacroix', since it does not include a middle ground, but as in the Delacroix there is a sickening impression of further, unseen bodies beyond the framework of the design, suggested by the way in which the figures to the left and right are either cut off by the edge of the picture or lean outward towards it.

On the distant skyline, Tenniel reproduces the 'flames that lit the sky', a flickering line of brightness all the more lurid for the jagged row of blackened and ruined buildings which again seem to point upward as if in an appeal to heaven. By choosing a night-time setting Tenniel was able to portray two kinds of light: the firelight on the horizon, and the moonlight, its 'chill, ineluctable quality'[212] illuminating the human figures in the foreground. The contrast is striking - a tour de force, considering that only black and white are used - and suggests at one glance the violent heat of the massacre and the cold, desolate death that results from it. The long perspective of the illustration is significant; the primary focus is of course the scene of human destruction in the foreground, but the distant ruined skyline and lowering sky hint that the day's events will have far-reaching consequences. Just as, for Bryant, the massacre was a universal as well as a particular example of political oppression, so Tenniel sets the event within a broader context by reminding the viewer that this seemingly isolated

occurrence may have relevance for the rest of Europe.

With this design should be compared Tenniel's illustration of the same year to 'Rizpah' [81b], an anonymous poem based on 2 Samuel 21, in the Lays of the Holy Land. As the stark lighting suggests, this is again a moonlit scene. The ground is littered with the bodies of seven men murdered by the Gibeonites in atonement for an earlier killing, and the emotional focus centres on the mourning female figure, Aiah's daughter. Facing out of the picture, she seems to address the viewer as from a stage, her distraction and self-neglect emphasised by her long, straggling hair. It is her task to protect the bodies, two of them her own sons, from preying animals and birds, represented by the two vultures flying overhead. The oppressive atmosphere of cruelty is emphasised by the hardness of the rock on which she sits and by the sharp, craggy mountain outlines set against a dark sky behind her. Pickersgill illustrated Bryant's own version of 'Rizpah' for the 1858 edition of the Poems [83b]: again, his treatment differs greatly from Tenniel's in that he avoids much of the cruel reality of the situation by concentrating almost entirely on the female figure.

As Punch's political cartoonist, Tenniel was occasionally required to portray contemporary conflicts, his use of romanticised idealism or unpleasant realism depending on the political slant required. 'Justice' (September 1857) [234a] belongs in the former category: just as Maclise's 'The Last Minstrel' (1845) [12a] relegates the horrors of battle to the background while emphasising a personified form of patriotism,

Tenniel focuses on the large, idealised figure of vengeance, while the grotesquely-drawn Indian mutineers appear merely confused, and not at all damaged, by her sword. In the more realistic category belongs 'The Status Quo' (September 1876) [274b], which is most explicit in its gruesome detail.

All of these illustrations and cartoons, whether realistic or idealistic in conception, represent Tenniel in serious mode. However, such depictions of conflict were not always welcome or appropriate, and anxieties about war could be dispelled, if not by romance, then by a spirit of comedy. Tenniel's versatility was such that he was able to reflect this in his 1864 illustration [158a] to R.H. Barham's 'Ingoldsby Penance', which presents a medieval Holy Land massacre scene in humorous light. The doggerel quality of the text and the comic literalness of the design deflect all sense of horror, while the historical and geographical context removes the subject from everyday Victorian reality. Significantly, this is the only one of Tenniel's book illustrations in which he depicts the assailant as well as the victims: indeed, Sir Ingoldsby Bray assumes the dominant, foreground position that has in other designs belonged to the mourners, and stares uncompromisingly out of the picture at the viewer. The effect, then, is one of black comedy as the young page, a baffled look on his face, attempts to count the number of casualties, one of whom is hanging from a tree. This was the latest, chronologically, of Tenniel's massacre-scene illustrations to literature, and constitutes something of a parody of the genre to which he had contributed so much.

## The Ingoldsby Legends

While Tenniel's illustrations to Richard Harris Barham's Ingoldsby Legends did not appear until 1864, they belong in many ways to his early romantic period; indeed, Barham's comic tales of knights and ladies, monks and nuns probably influenced the mock-medieval pictures that Tenniel drew for Punch in the 1850s and early 1860s, so that with his Barham illustrations [151-65] the influence had come full circle. Together with Punch, Barham's tales provided Tenniel with the foremost vehicle for his comic medieval art, representing a major contribution in the fields of the supernatural, the grotesque and, often in parallel with these, religious satire.

Barham (1788-1845) wrote his Legends, a collection of mainly medieval tales in doggerel verse, under the pseudonym of Thomas Ingoldsby. They first appeared in the late 1830s, most of them in Bentley's Miscellany where they were accompanied by the illustrations of John Leech and George Cruikshank. They were then issued in an illustrated, three-volume edition: the First Series in 1840, the Second Series in 1842 and the posthumous Third Series in 1847. They proved to be one of Bentley's top sellers, with nearly half a million copies sold between 1857 and 1894,[213] and when the copyright expired in 1888 new illustrated editions began to appear. Not realising how popular his tales were going to be, Barham had sold the copyright to Richard Bentley for £100 in 1840; this meant enormous profits for the publisher, who on one occasion made £1,000, of which £180 4s 4d went to Tenniel, £153 4s 6d to Cruikshank and £40 4s 6d to Leech:

figures which are in themselves an interesting indication of the relative importance of the three illustrators in the eyes of their publisher.

When Tenniel came to make his contributions in 1864 a number of tales remained unillustrated; these were evenly distributed throughout the three Series, so that Tenniel's designs slotted in neatly and conveniently between those of Cruikshank and Leech. From the First Series he illustrated 'The Nurse's Story - The Hand of Glory', 'The Cynotaph', 'The Lay of St Odille' and 'The Tragedy'; from the Second, 'Sir Rupert the Fearless - A Legend of Germany', 'The Ingoldsby Penance - A Legend of Palestine - and West Kent' and 'The Smuggler's Leap - A Legend of Thanet'; and from the Third, 'The Lord of Thoulouse - A Legend of Languedoc', 'A Lay of St Romwold - The Blasphemer's Warning' and 'A Lay of St Thomas à Becket - The Brothers of Birchington'. The result is a well-balanced collection of illustrations with little disparity between old and new, apart from the unavoidable but not displeasing differences in style.[214]

The 1840 Preface to the first volume of the Legends takes the form of a letter from their 'editor' Thomas Ingoldsby to their publisher Richard Bentley, in which Barham gives unity to his work by asserting the authenticity of 'certain rambling extracts from our family memoranda ... written by different parties, and at various periods', and discovered in an 'old oak chest'. Old Kentish legends formed one of his sources; another was the Aurea Legenda or Golden Legends, a collection of monastic writings concerning saints, monks and devils, held in St Paul's

Cathedral library, where Barham, a Minor Canon there, was responsible for the preservation of medieval books and manuscripts. The Legends' surface layer of humour serves to obscure the fact that Barham was an Anglican clergyman of the 'high and dry' variety, a scholarly man of conservative beliefs and attitudes which included hostility towards the Roman Catholic Church, as well as implicit condemnation of the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement, founded in 1833 by John Keble, John Henry Newman, Edward Pusey and others to promote a return to the medieval traditions of the Church.

Anti-Catholic prejudice, bred by hundreds of years of Protestantism, often reached paranoiac proportions in nineteenth-century Britain. This was as much political as religious: a power struggle was taking place at many levels, and the general emphasis was on preserving the Protestant status quo. Punch's own anti-Catholic satire was in many ways a continuation of that found in Barham's Legends; indeed, as noted earlier, it was Punch's harsh anti-Catholicism which led Richard Doyle, a Roman Catholic, to resign his position as decorative artist in 1850, thereby creating the vacancy which Tenniel was invited to fill. It was thus as a result of religious contention that Tenniel came to join the magazine, and it is therefore appropriate that many of the Punch illustrations and cartoons which he produced over the fifty years that followed reflect this particular aspect of religious strife. Bearing in mind the prominent part religion played in all aspects of Victorian life, both within the church and throughout society, it is not surprising that it appears in

so many forms, both literal and metaphorical, in the hundreds of cartoons, decorative designs and book illustrations that Tenniel produced.

Barham's son, whose Memoir accompanies the 1847 volume, clearly approves of his father's use of satire against the Catholic Church; he describes him as being '[f]irmly and conscientiously opposed to avowed Popery', and seeking to expose 'the latent imposture, contradiction, and impiety abounding in the Roman Catholic doctrines':

> He has stripped off the gold and the silver, the purple and fine linen, and all the pomp and circumstance of undue solemnity, and bared the dull, clumsy idol beneath.[215]

There are echoes here of Isaiah's description of the decadent city of Babylon: a favourite analogy drawn by reactionary Protestants. Barham's choice of subject follows the familiar set of prejudices: 'The Auto-da-Fé' in the 1842 volume of the Legends features the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, with Leech's depiction of a public burning at the stake, and the practice of confession and absolution are satirised in 'The Confession', for which Leech shows a monk standing by a witch's deathbed while her lover hides underneath with his finger to his lips, inviting the viewer to keep the woman's secret.

One of Barham's most powerful weapons is his grotesque doggerel verse; this, combined with the disarmingly humorous illustrations of Cruikshank, Leech and Tenniel, tends to defer serious judgement on the part of the reader, and it is only in retrospect, after the effects of the almost hypnotic syntax have

begun to wear off, that moral considerations arise. There is a parallel here with Tenniel's cartoons, which use satire as a subtle weapon against Roman Catholic beliefs, traditions and practices, thereby reinforcing, and even creating, prejudices. On one level such humour provided an escape, in the form of comic relief, from the threatening issues of the day; at the same time satire has a diminishing and distorting effect: trivialisation tends to cloud or oversimplify the issues, and attitudes become crystallised.[216]

Several of the legends Tenniel illustrated were of an anti-Catholic nature, three of them being based on the Golden Legends: the Lays of St Odille, St Romwold ('The Blasphemer's Warning') and St Thomas à Becket ('The Brothers of Birchington'), while one of the Kentish legends, 'The Ingoldsby Penance', contains a satirised pope. For these Tenniel follows the Legends' pictorial tradition of anti-Catholic satire, as epitomised in I.S. Gwilt's decorated title page of 1840 [166]; this contains swinging and smoking censers, a cardinal's hat, rosaries, and a pope's triple crown and crossed keys, in mixed company with a witch on a broomstick, a skeleton trying on a pair of trousers, and two black devils; the 1842 title page contains similar figures, as does Cruikshank's frontispiece of 1870 [167].

'The Brothers of Birchington' concerns twin brothers, one virtuous, one profligate, as suggested by Tenniel's respectively symmetrical and asymmetrical treatment in their portrayals [164]; when the devil takes the good brother by mistake he is ordered by St Thomas à Becket to reinstate him [165a], and returns to hell

in such confusion that he forgets to take the bad brother in replacement. Tenniel's ungainly Canterbury saint is hardly the image of a romanticised martyr, while the monks surrounding him are fat and timorous, reminiscent of the plump monk ironically juxtaposed with a thin, haloed saint in his Punch design to 'The Saints of Old' (Vol. 20, 1851) [213a]; the sleeping monks contained in the two circular vignettes of this latter design hint further at the supposedly slothful nature of monastic life.[217] Gluttony and licentiousness are also hinted at in one of Tenniel's illustrations to Barham's 'The Lord of Thoulouse' [161b], in which the magician Nostradamus conjures up for a bored aristocrat and his friend a vision of their wives banqueting with two monks; the men are left with feelings of distrust and discomfort, unsure as to whether the scene was real or illusory.

Tenniel's portrayal of plump clergymen is carried through into his political cartoons. For example, while clerics of all persuasions were seen to be obstructive towards an equitable system of education for the working classes, it was, predictably, Roman Catholic priests who were presented in the worst light. '"Big Bogey" in Ireland' (September 1869) [256a] depicts a grotesquely fat Cardinal Cullen warning a group of Catholic children against joining their Protestant playmates in the National School.[218]

A similarly biassed portrayal is of Cardinal Wiseman, the first Archbishop of Westminster when the Roman Catholic hierarchy was re-established in England in 1850. An outcry ensued when regional titles were awarded to the new bishops, and in November

1850 Lord John Russell wrote his vociferous and ill-advised attack on the Catholic Church in the form of an open letter to the Bishop of Durham.[219] The parliamentary reaction to 'Papal Aggression' was the introduction of the ineffectual Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in February 1851, which became law in August, and this legislation prompted Tenniel's first political cartoon, 'Lord Jack the Giant Killer' (Vol. 20, 1851) [228a], in which he depicts Wiseman as a grotesque giant, complete with crozier and cardinal's hat, about to be 'killed' by Russell and the new Act. The same volume contains another, comically anachronistic, portrait of Wiseman, in Tenniel's 'Taking the Veil' [213b]; depicting the brutality of medieval convent life, he shows the aristocratic Lady Blanche kneeling before Wiseman to have her long hair cut off.[220] Wiseman's successor, Dr H.E. Manning, was similarly attacked, with specific hints at his supposedly ambitious and conceited nature, in such cartoons as 'The Vatican Hatter' (January 1874) [268a] and 'A Red Study' (April 1875).

Wiseman is a background figure in 'A November Cracker' (November 1874) [270b], in which Pope Pius IX himself appears as Mrs Pope, her crinoline frame visible much like that of Lewis Carroll's White Queen [195c]. This degrading portrayal of the Pope as a plump old woman was not uncommon, and intensified when, in 1869, he made controversial claims to infallibility. In response to this, as well as to ritualism in the Anglican Church, Gladstone wrote an essay which appeared in the Contemporary Review in October 1874, and such was its popularity that hundreds

of thousands of copies were printed and sold in pamphlet form.[221] Punch made much of the long-running controversy, and when a second essay by Gladstone appeared in November, this time specifically criticising the Vatican, the Pope's imagined surprise is shown.

Indeed, the Pope was Punch's main target of satire, Victorian Protestant unease turning him into a plump, ineffectual old man; thus he appears as a symbol of Catholic extremism and authoritarianism in such cartoons as 'Papal Allocution - Snuffing Out Modern Civilisation' (April 1861) [238a] and 'The Damp Roman Candle' (December 1874) [271a].[222] Such portrayals are paralleled in one of Tenniel's designs to Barham's 'The Ingoldsby Penance' [158b], in which the precariousness of the medieval pope's crown could well be an anachronistic symbol for the status of Catholicism in mid-1860s England, further ridicule lying in his ugly corpulence and oddly positioned feet, which appear to suffer from bunions. In the same way, the hampering layers of his ornate clothing could be a comment on the Anglo-Catholic emphasis on vestments, for Tenniel's contributions to Barham's Legends coincided with growing concern over ritualistic practices which were becoming increasingly prevalent in Anglican worship during the 1850s and 1860s. This led to cartoons like 'Sliding on Thin Ice' (December 1869) [257], in which the Pope totters across an icy slipway of infallibility, a row of bishops following precariously behind him; a danger sign planted nearby serves as a warning to a group of Anglo-Catholics who are venturing to step in the same direction. Anglo-Catholic priests

were beginning to wear ornamented vestments, use bells, candles and incense, and have their churches decorated with crucifixes and flowers, and these visual aspects lent themselves well to Tenniel's cartoon medium. They are all in evidence in 'The Chichester Extinguisher' (October 1868) [250b], in which the Bishop of Chichester tells the Rev. John Purchas, Vicar of St James' Brighton, to leave before he burns the church down. Purchas is dressed in elaborate robes; he holds a smoking censer, and there are candles, a crucifix, and a hint of a floral arrangement on the altar behind him.

The same vestments and trappings are present in 'Over the Way' (November 1866) [245b], which shows a stern Protestant Doctor of Divinity ordering a set of ritualist clergymen to take their 'gewgaws' to the old lady at the 'Cross Keys'; as already seen in 'Sliding on Thin Ice', Tenniel adds some iconography of his own: exaggeratedly effeminate-looking Anglo-Catholics with thin faces and aquiline noses - a satirical comment on their interest in embroidered and decorated vestments - contrasting dramatically with their more 'masculine' brethren. A counterpart to this is 'A Change for the Better' (September 1867) [247b], in which a 'manly' clergyman of the Muscular Christianity type has just removed his embroidered outer vestment, while 'Mother Church', a grand old lady seated in a gothic chair, tells him that he is now her 'own dear Protestant boy again'.

Ritualistic 'heretics' were spied upon and prosecuted by zealous Protestants, who regarded Anglo-Catholic ceremonies as mere theatrical show, appealing to the senses rather than to the

intellect and spirit; there was also the danger of wholesale conversion to Catholicism, as exemplified by Newman in 1845. This is given visual imagery in a number of Tenniel's cartoons. Interesting for its links with the supposedly anti-Catholic symbolism of William Holman Hunt's two paintings, The Hireling Shepherd (1851-2) and Our English Coasts (Strayed Sheep) (1852), Tenniel's 'Black Sheep' (May 1874) [269b] depicts the ritualistic clergy, not in their proper role as shepherds, but rather as the wayward black sheep of the Anglican flock. They are straying dangerously towards a signpost 'To Rome', while the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Tait, is the good shepherd dressed in plain black - no ornate vestments for him - trying to hold them back with the crook of the recently introduced Public Worship Regulation Bill.[223]

Somewhat less explicitly, Barham uses supernatural events to criticise the Catholic Church: in 'The Lay of St Odille' a father attempts to force his pious daughter into marriage, and Odille's escape through canonisation satirises the apparent tendency to create a new saint at every opportunity. As noted in Part I (p.65), Tenniel's illustration [154b] is a parody of a Dürer woodcut, 'The Assumption of the Virgin'; this pictorial satire is reinforced by the debunking effect of Barham's language, especially evident in his description of the putti who hover about St Ermengarde, the deus ex machina of the tale:

> While with faces fresh gilt, and with wings burnished bright,
> A great many little boys' heads took their flight
> Above and around to a very great height,
> And seemed pretty lively considering their plight;
> Since every one saw,

With amazement and awe,
They could never sit down, for they hadn't de quoi.

Ironically, this tale was appropriated by a Catholic publisher in 1915,[224] with illustrations in black and yellow by Martin Travers; while the latter's Ermengarde [170b] is older and uglier than Tenniel's, there is a clear compositional parallel between the two designs. Divine intervention is the subject again in 'The Blasphemer's Warning', in which Sir Alured Denne receives a saintly warning [162b] that if he persists in swearing he will lose the person he loves best; when he forgets himself at a banquet he is accordingly punished by the spiriting away of his wife to heaven [163]. Tenniel's design was copied, without acknowledgement, by Gordon Browne [170a] in a 1907 edition of the Legends.[225]

As Tenniel's designs to 'The Lay of St Odille', 'The Lord of Thoulouse', 'The Blasphemer's Warning' and 'The Brothers of Birchington' show, he often combined the supernatural and the grotesque, in parallel with his author. The same treatment is found in a rare design of his in colour, to a comic ghost story, 'The Unexpected Guest', in the Christmas 1857 issue of the Illustrated London News, a pencil sketch for which is held in the British Museum Print Room. Set in the Civil War period, it shows a soldier in a red cloak and cavalier hat, his face covered in flour as he pretends to be his own ghost in order to obtain a free supper; the plump innkeeper stares at him, goggle-eyed, his candle shedding an eerie light on the scene.

Barham was clearly interested in the supernatural and

sensational, having written a gothic novel, Baldwin, in around 1818; it was published by the Minerva Press, but the genre was already in decline by this time, and the novel is now lost. However, Barham's Legends provide many examples, some serious, some comic, of gothic subjects and settings. These are particularly suited to Tenniel's skill in creating a sense of threat or a mysterious atmosphere through stark contrasts of bright light and heavy shading. For one of the Kentish legends, 'The Hand of Glory', he depicts a witch at her cauldron [151a], casting a spell to assist three villains in their plot to kill and rob a rich man; the design is a masterpiece of rich black and carefully textured greys to suggest the reflected light from the brightly burning fire. Tenniel gives a similar treatment to the murder scene, in which an avaricious man sits counting his money by candlelight while the midnight assassin's shadow looms on the door [151b]; the man's little dog provides a grotesque element, undercutting the horror of the event.

Equally effective is his use of shading in 'The Cynotaph', in which he depicts a ghostly old maid chasing the ghost of a dog through a graveyard [153b]. In another design, to 'The Ingoldsby Penance', he shows a headless friar chasing the terrified Sir Ingoldsby Bray [159], a bright ray of light beaming from a decidedly modern bicycle lamp tied to his waist. Arthur Rackham's design to the same tale in an 1898 edition of the Legends[224] is similar in composition to Tenniel's, but inaccurate in that the monk is wearing his own head: as Tenniel correctly shows, he should be holding out a Turk's disembodied head, the

result of a mix-up after a Holy Land massacre!

A rare seascape provided Tenniel with another opportunity to exploit the potential of black and white: his tailpiece to 'The Brothers of Birchington' [165b] shows a rough, foaming sea, a dark, gothic abbey on a distant cliff with three pinpoints of light for its windows, a fork of lightning in the sky and a glimmer of moonlight behind the clouds. This is probably Tenniel's only departure into the romantic sublime, whereby an emotional response is provoked in the viewer through the depiction of dramatic natural phenomena, and he may well have had in mind John Martin's vast canvases full of violent storms and expansive, rugged landscapes, such as The Deluge (1828) [59a]: the only difference is one of scale.

'The Smuggler's Leap' is another excellent example of black and white, with its midnight chase and flashing pistol shot [160a], while Tenniel's depiction of the fall of the customs officer and the smuggler into a dark pit [160b] relies for its lighting on the eerie beams emitted by the mysterious devil-horse's eyes. As this design shows, Tenniel's portrayal of horses can be especially supernatural in effect: two other examples are his illustrations to 'The Blasphemer's Warning' [162a] and Undine [19b], while most effective of all is his striking final illustration to 'The Hand of Glory', in which he shows the witch being borne off to hell by a laughing devil on a malevolent-looking black horse [152]. By comparison with this latter design, Browne's of 1907 [169] are far less effective. Tenniel's supernatural horses reappear in his cartoons, most

notably 'The Modern Dick Turpin' (August 1868) and 'Disturbed Dreamers' (June 1877).

The supernatural aspects of 'The Lord of Thoulouse' [161b] have already been noted. Tenniel's 'magic mirror' design followed one by Leech, who died in 1864, and Tenniel's inclusion of a jar of leeches in the lower left of his design may well be a punning tribute to his colleague, who used it for his own pictorial signature. Harry G. Theaker's version in a 1911 edition of the Legends[225] has the same crocodile hanging from the ceiling as in the Leech and Tenniel illustrations, but the angle of viewpoint is different, for the visitors are outside the boundary of the picture, and the magician turns round from his desk to greet them - and with them the viewer.

Tenniel's design is in turn reminiscent of a Punch title page (Vol. 23, 1852) [229b], an early example of his use of sharp contrasts of dark and light, whereby he transforms Mr. Punch into a sinister magician with wide, luminous eyes, a circular scene with Doyle-like goblins conjured up behind him. The theatricality of such scenes was one of Tenniel's trademarks, reappearing later in his cartoon 'The "Realms of Gloom"' (February 1874) [268b], based on the spectacular 'transformation scene' of pantomime; here he uses darkness to suggest the mystery surrounding the first use of the secret ballot in an election. Much closer, however, to his 'Lord of Thoulouse' illustration is a Punch Almanack calendar design for 1864 [226b]: this makes tacit reference to the Barham illustration of the same year, thus giving informed readers the pleasure of recognising the

connection. Here Mr Punch plays the part of Nostradamus, conjuring up a vision of the coming Leap Year, with women proposing to men: a parallel to the wives entertaining the priests. In a droll touch Tenniel replaces the large crocodile with a small tortoise.

The grotesque had long been one of Tenniel's strong points, as seen in a set of forty-four Happy Families playing card designs produced by John Jaques & Son of Hatton Garden in around 1860 [106]; despite the awkward draughtsmanship, these have been attributed to Tenniel, and may have been drawn some years prior to the date of manufacture. Even more grotesque are some of his cartoon figures, some of them humanised objects, like the one concocted from a piece of rolled-up paper to represent the 'Ballot Boy' in '"Come to Grief"' (June 1872) [263b].[226] The grotesque style plays an equally important part in Tenniel's Barham illustrations, often serving to deflect the viewer's sympathy. For example, one is hardly invited to feel sorry for Sir Rupert's drowning wedding guests with their comically startled faces [157], nor for Sir Alured Denne with his pained features [163]; neither is any horror felt at Sir Ingoldsby Bray's indiscriminate massacre of Turks [158a]: a reminder, in comic guise, of the long history of western religious intolerance towards the east. Theaker chooses a slightly earlier moment than Tenniel for his frontispiece of 1911, but employs the same grotesque flavour, showing the medieval crusader energetically swiping off a Turk's head which bears a comic look of surprise as it flies through the air.

This horrific aspect of the grotesque is also evident in Tenniel's illustrations to Barham's 'The Tragedy', based on Gower's play Catherine of Cleves. The tale ends in the deaths of the unfaithful wife, her lover, and her page, and Tenniel employs the grotesque mode to portray the Duke de Guise, infamous for his murderous campaign against the Protestant Huguenots, as a typically unpleasant stage villain [155a]. The moral stance of the story is somewhat ambivalent: Catherine can hardly be blamed for not loving such a husband, but her infidelity is not condoned on that account. Barham's humorous language acts as a filter for a taboo subject, particularly in his flippantly-worded description of de Guise as he confronts his wife with damning evidence:

> He went home in a fume
> And bounced into her room,
> Crying, 'So, Ma'am, I find I've some cause to be
> jealous!
> Look here! - here's a proof you run after the fellows!

Tenniel's employment of the grotesque is a perfect accompaniment to this, and has the effect of disguising the sheer cruelty of the tale, in parallel with Barham's description of Catherine's murdered pageboy:

> The poor little Page, too, himself got no quarter, but
> Was served the same way [as the lover],
> And was found the next day,
> With his heels in the air and his head in the water-
> butt.

The gargoyle drainpipe [155b] gazes down powerlessly, its grotesque face drawing the viewer's attention from the reality of the situation. Ironically, the gargoyle of gothic architecture was superstitiously believed to ward off evil spirits, but de

Guise, the 'evil spirit' of this story, has been unstoppable in his vengeance.

Thus, in many ways, Tenniel's style of drawing was a perfect accompaniment to Barham's grotesquely satirical verse. This was an area in which he was clearly at home, as the numerous parallels in his Punch designs and political cartoons suggest. Above all, Tenniel's Ingoldsby Legends illustrations can be regarded as marking the culmination of his comic work in the romantic style.

NOTES TO PART II

## Introduction

116. William Vaughan, German Romanticism and English Art, Yale University Press, 1979.

## Ballad Literature

117. A copy of this drawing is held in the National Portrait Gallery Archive.

118. Tenniel's fellow-artists included John Franklin, William and David Bell Scott, J.N. Paton, Richard Dadd, W.P. Frith, John Gilbert, Kenny Meadows, F. R. Pickersgill, C. H. Weigall, E. H. Corbould, H. O'Neil, J. R. Herbert, R. R. McIan, Fanny McIan, and E. M. Ward.

119. Hall's serious attitude to life won him the nickname of 'Shirtcollar Hall': Dickens is said to have used him as a model for the hypocritical architect Mr Pecksniff in Martin Chuzzlewit (1843-44).

120. Hall, II.121, 225-7. Tenniel also contributed to Hall's two temperance books of the 1870s, The Trial of Sir Jasper and An Old Story (see Part VI).

121. Hall, I.333.

122. Most of the details on Burns are taken from McLean, pp.16, 43-4.

123. The other artists included Franklin, Pickersgill, Weigall, Corbould, William Dyce, J. C. Horsley, C. W. Cope, T. Creswick, H. C. Selous, H. J. Townsend, F. W. Topham and W. C. Thomas. Eleven engravers were employed, including W. J. Linton, the Dalziels and J. Bastin. The book contains the work of many writers including Herrick, Dryden, Cowper, Robert Burns, Scott, Gray, Coleridge and Wordsworth, as well as translations from German poets.

124. Quoted by John Buchanan-Brown, The Illustrations of William Makepeace Thackeray, Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1979, pp.16-17: 'the charming Lieder und Bilder of the Düsseldorf painters has, no doubt, given the idea of the work'.

125. Quoted in Buchanan-Brown, p.16, 'About a Christmas Book', Fraser's Magazine, December 1845.

126. Henry C. Ewart mentions 'St Michael's Eve', 7 February 1846, in Toilers in Art, London: Isbister & Co, n.d., p.29; it was apparently Tenniel's only work for this magazine, which later favoured steel engravings from paintings.

127. See Richard Ormond, Daniel Maclise 1806-1870 (exhibition catalogue), London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972.

128. His co-illustrators included Weigall and W.B. Scott.

129. See also 'St. George and the Dragon' (August 1878).

130. Rev. D. Wallace Duthie, The Church in the Pages of "Punch", London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1912, p.170.

131. See also '"The Vigil"' (June 1888).

132. See 'Derbye Hys Straite Fytte' (July 1866), 'The Return from Victory' (after Calderon) (July 1867), 'A Outrance' (October 1879), 'Entering the Lists' and 'The Knight and the Jester' (March 1894), and 'The Free-Lance!' (April 1899). John Bright is featured in 'The Old Sword' (March 1879) and 'John Bright' (April 1889). Gladstone appears most often in this context: see 'On His Way' (January 1881), 'The Last Rally!' (February 1885), 'The Broken Covenant' (May 1885), 'Hibernia Consolatrix' (June 1886), 'The "Forlorn Hope"' (September 1893), and 'Unarming' (March 1894).

133. See Daria Hambourg, Richard Doyle, his life and work, London: Art and Technics, 1948.

134. Michael Hancher, The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books, Ohio State University Press, 1985, suggests (pp.46, 133) that Tenniel may have written all or part of this, but Silver (Diary, 5 April 1865 and 5 February 1868) refers to himself as the writer.

135. See Pocket Books for 1866, 1867, 1869, 1871, 1873, 1874 and 1877.

Undine

136. Vaughan, p.26.

137. See Vaughan, pp.109-10, 114-5, 259-63. One of the first artists was Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, who exhibited paintings on the subject at the Royal Academy in 1821 and 1823. Also in 1821 Henry Fuseli produced his painting Kühlborn brings Undine to the Fisher Folk.

138. Vaughan, p.261.

139. Christabel Maxwell, Mrs Gatty and Mrs Ewing, London: Constable, 1949, p.85.

140. Vaughan, p.116.

141. Undine, London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1896, trans. Gosse,

with an introductory note on Fouqué.

142. Undine, London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1897 [1896], trans. Gosse.

143. Undine was available to the mass market in 1852 at the price of fourpence as no.21 of the Illustrated Literature of all Nations, London: John K. Chapman & Company; the artists are not acknowledged, but some French names are visible on the engravings themselves. Examples from the upper end of the market include Ondine, Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1857, containing eight full-colour plates by J-G Bach; Undine, Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1879, with twelve illustrations by Leopold Bode; and Undine. A Legend, London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, [1885], illustrated by Julius Hoppner and translated by F.E. Bunnett. An interesting twentieth-century edition is Undine, London: William Heinemann; New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1909, containing some excellent colour designs by Arthur Rackham.

144. 'Sir Rupert' in its turn inspired two comic stage versions. Sir Rupert the Fearless; or, a legend of the Rhine, a one-act 'entirely new and original burlesque extravanganza' by Francis Talfourd and A.J. Seymour was first performed, complete with songs and choruses, at the Strand Theatre in 1848. To underline the double parody, Lurline's chief attendant is named Undine; the river rises as in 'Sir Rupert', but Lurline gives her blessing on the nobleman and his fiancee Una and unites a further couple for good measure. Vincent Amcotts similarly avoids a tragic ending in Lurline - A Romantic Extravaganza, London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1867, written in comic rhyming couplets: Sir Rupert is united with his mortal bride, and Barham himself would have approved of the concluding moral that one should marry within one's own sphere.

145. Tenniel's fellow-artists were George Cruikshank, John Leech, Hablot K. Browne and J. Portch; from the fifth edition of 1868 contributions were also made by Richard Doyle, H. N. Paton and M. Ellen Edwards.

146. Art Journal, Vol. VII, 1861, p.224.

147. Quoted in Pennell's anthology of society verse, The Muses of Mayfair, London: Chatto and Windus, 1874.

148. This final illustration is used to advertise the seventh edition of Puck on Pegasus in The Muses of Mayfair.

The Haunted Man

149. The Letters of Charles Dickens (Vol. 5, 1847-1849), Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1981, p.468.

150. Letters, p.431.

151. Letters, p.459.

152. Forster's figure is quoted by Michael Slater in his Introduction to The Haunted Man, Charles Dickens, The Christmas Books (Vol. 2), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971 (reprint, 1985), p.238. The other two figures are from Letters, p.459.

153. Slater, p.237.

154. Letters, p.459; also John Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens, Everyman, 1966, II.80.

155. Lemon was adapting The Haunted Man for the stage while Dickens wrote it; it was later produced at the Adelphi Theatre, but was less successful than the other Christmas stories (Slater, pp.237-8). Other versions followed, but it was probably Lemon's that was performed on several occasions in December 1848 as The New Christmas Drama of the Haunted Man, or the Ghost's Bargain at the Royal Albert Saloon, Shepherdess Walk, City Road (J. F. Dexter catalogue).

156. Slater, p.237.

157. Deborah A. Thomas, Dickens and the Short Story, London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1982, pp.51-2.

158. Quoted in Slater, p.236.

159. Slater, pp.365-6.

160. Louisa Gradgrind in Hard Times (1854) is another melancholy fire-gazer.

161. Slater, p.237.

162. Letters, p.444.

163. Slater, p.237.

164. Thomas Stothard RA (1755-1834) must have begun the painting from which this engraving was made soon after the first edition of Cantos I and II appeared, in 1812.

165. Angus Wilson, The World of Charles Dickens, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972, pp.38, 181, 211.

166. See Frederic G. Kitton, 'Dickens and Punch', in the English Illustrated Magazine, August 1891.

167. Biographical details are taken from Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography, Vol. II, Frank Cass & Co., 1965. James taught at Charterhouse School as an assistant master in 1832, and became chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough; in addition to his two livings he became Honorary Canon of Peterborough in September 1852, and rural dean in December 1853, all of which he retained until his death.

168. I am grateful to Ms Cis Amaral for bringing the Tuppo designs to my attention.

169. The Art-Union, Monthly Journal of the Arts, Vol. X, 1848, London: Chapman & Hall, pp.152-3. Much of the article is little more than a learned essay on Aesop himself.

170. See note 28.

171. Sarzano, p.13.

172. The 78th thousand of 1882 was a reprint of the 1874 edition, of which a further reprint appeared in 1891; it contains some of Josef Wolf's designs. The layout of the 1911 edition is similar to that of 1882, but the newly designed headings and fable numbers are in a darker and much bolder print, and detract from the more lightly drawn illustrations. Later Aesop artists include Tenniel's friend and Punch colleague Charles H. Bennett in 1858; Joseph Wolf, Johann B. Zwecker and Thomas Dalziel in 1867; Harrison Weir also in 1867, and Arthur Rackham in 1912 (Edward Hodnett, Aesop in England: The Transmission of Motifs in Seventeenth-Century Illustrations of Aesop's Fables, University Press of Virginia, 1979).

173. A number of cartoons are based on the fable of the Lion and the Fox, which is not illustrated in the James Aesop. See 'The Lion and the Fox' (August 1882), 'A Mutual Understanding' (between the French Fox and the British Lion) (July 1883), 'The German Fox and the British Lion' (November 1888), and 'The British Lion and the German Fox' (September 1890). Besides these, a number of subjects were adapted over the years: 'The Bear and the Bees' (July 1853), reflecting the conflict between Russia and Afghanistan, makes use of a traditional fable not included in James.

174. See Morris, pp.247-71.

175. See note 28.

Religious Literature

176. Elisabeth Jay, Introductory Essay, The Evangelical and Oxford Movements, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

177. Biographical and bibliographical details are taken from Derek Hudson, Martin Tupper: His Rise and Fall, London: Constable, 1949.

178. Quoted in Hudson, p.159.

179. Hudson, p.161.

180. Biographical details are taken from Rosaline Masson, Pollok & Aytoun, in the Famous Scots Series, Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1898.

181. Art Journal, New Series Vol. III, 1857, p.68.

182. F.D. Tredrey, The House of Blackwood 1804-1954, The History of a Publishing Firm, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1954, p.60.

183. For biographical details see Rev. John A. Wallace, Lessons from the Life of the late James Nisbet. Publisher, London. A study for young men, London: James Nisbet and Co.; Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, and Co., 1867.

184. George and Edward Dalziel, The Brothers Dalziel: A Record of Fifty Years Work .... 1840-1900, London: Methuen, 1901, pp.110-14.

185. See James A. Means, Introduction to The Grave, The Augustan Reprint Society, 1973 (from the first volume edition of 1743, printed in London for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row).

186. The other artists were J. Godwin and [?H.] Pasquier.

187. Robert Blair, The Grave, illustrated by twelve etchings executed by L[ouis]. Schiavonetti [1765-1810] from the original inventions of William Blake, reprint by Methuen & Co., London, 1903, from the 1808 edition.

188. Art Journal, New Series Vol. IV, 1858, p.376.

189. Quoted by Means, vii, from Edmund Gosse, Father and Son, 1907.

190. Quoted in Marcia Collins, The Dance of Death in Book Illustration, catalogue to an exhibition of the collection in the Ellis Library of the University of Missouri-Columbia, 1978.

191. See, for example, 'Death on the Rope' (Vol. 45, 1863). Indian famines are featured in 'Wrestling for Life' (April 1874) and '"Disputed Empire!"' (September 1877), and an Irish potato famine in '"Shadowed!"' (August 1890); fever and disease appear in '"Happy Hampstead!"' (March 1875), '"Old King Coal" and the Fog Demon' (November 1880), 'The Court of King Bumble' (November 1881), 'One Warning More!' (August 1885), 'Friends (?) of Education' (December 1889), and '"Back!"' (September 1892); explosives are the subject of 'The Unsuspected Torpedo' (October 1874), and anarchy is featured in 'The Tempter' (November 1886); crime is the subject of 'The Nemesis of Neglect' (September 1888); railway accidents are featured in '"There and (Not) Back!"' (September 1878), '"Death and his Brother Sleep"' (October 1890), and 'On the Bridge!' (August 1891).

Anthologies

192. For details on Rev. Robert E.A. Willmott, MA (1809-1863), see introductory Memoir by his sister Cordelia in A Journal of Summer Time in the Country (4th ed.), London: John Russell Smith, 1864.

193. For details on Procter see Richard Willard Armour, Barry Cornwall. . . A biography of Bryan Waller Procter, Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1935, and Armour (ed.), The Literary Recollections of Barry Cornwall, Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1936, which is based on Procter's An Autobiographical Fragment (ed. Coventry Patmore), London: G. Bell and Sons, 1877.

194. Michael R. Booth, English Melodrama, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965, p.199. The Elizabethan connection is significant here, for Richard III with its melodramatic, soliloquising villain was a frequently-performed Shakespearean tragedy, and Procter would certainly have seen his friend Edmund Kean in the title role.

195. The other artists were Felix Darley, Jasper Cropsey, P. Duggan, Percival Skelton and A.M. Madot.

196. Quoted in Philip Lindsay, The Haunted Man - A Portrait of Edgar Allan Poe, Hutchinson, 1953, p.163.

197. Lindsay, pp.234 and 203 respectively.

198. Geoffrey Rans, Edgar Allan Poe, Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965, pp.28, 50-51, 59-60, 76, 90, 93.

199. N. Bryllion Fagin, The Histrionic Mr. Poe, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1949, p.141; on Poe as a frustrated actor see pp.16 and 31.

200. Paintings based on 'The Raven' include those by Manet

(1875), Gustave Doré (1883) and Gauguin (Nevermore, 1897).

201. Quoted in Fagin, p.58, from Karl Mantzius' A History of Theatrical Art (1921).

202. Fagin, pp.52-3.

203. There are various accounts in Lindsay, pp.154, 155, 169.

204. Lindsay, p.175.

205. The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe, with a Notice of his Life and Genius, London: Addey and Co., 1853, with twenty illustrations, and an introductory note by James Hannay. The artists were E.H. Wehnert, James Godwin, F.W. Hulme and Harrison Weir; the engravers were the Dalziel Brothers. Further editions were issued by a succession of publishers, in 1859 (London: W. Kent & Co.), 1863 (London: Griffin, Bohn and Company), and 1865 (not seen).

Battles and Massacres

206. Booth, pp.60-1. See especially Chapter 4, 'Military and Nautical Melodrama'.

207. Quoted in Booth, p.96.

208. Vizetelly's artists were Kenny Meadows, Birket Foster, Hablot K. Browne, Gustave Janet and Edward Morin. Later Byron illustrators include Ford Madox Brown (Moxon, 1870), and Linley Sambourne in Venice, from Lord Byron's Childe Harold (Bradbury, Agnew, 1878).

209. Jerome J. McGann (ed.), Lord Byron, The Complete Poetical Works (Vol. II), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

210. For biographical and bibliographical information see Tremaine McDowell, William Cullen Bryant - representative selections, with introduction, bibliography, and notes, American Book Company, 1935.

211. Poems, 1873.

212. Sarzano, p.13.

The Ingoldsby Legends

213. Bibliographical information is taken from Royal A. Gettmann, A Victorian Publisher. A Study of the Bentley Papers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp.80, 81.

214. More illustrators followed: an 1866 edition includes five du Maurier designs and two by Henry Doyle, alongside the

three earlier artists' work.

215. R.H.D. Barham, 'Memoir', 17 November 1847, first published in the Third Series of The Ingoldsby Legends (1847) and reprinted in various edd.

216. Morris (p.41) suggests that this ridiculing of issues and traditions is a particularly English trait, but it is equally true of the French: Punch was modelled on Le Charivari, and Le Canard Enchaîné in our own century is well known for its satirical writings.

217. See also 'The Crusaders of St Ignatius' (Vol. 20, 1851), which warns against Catholic indoctrination, showing people imprisoned in a cage and a woman being caught by a cobweb.

218. For the Protestant side of the story see 'The Three R's; or, Better Late Than Never' (March 1870) [259a], 'Obstructives' (July 1870), and 'Poor Smike!' (October 1895). Further anti-Irish cartoons include 'Kick'd Out!!' (June 1870), 'The Irish Devil-Fish' (June 1881), a title page (Vol. 82, 1882), 'The Irish Frankenstein' (May 1882), and 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. O'Hyde' (August 1888).

219. The letter is reprinted in E.R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968, pp.159-161. Norman regards the letter as 'probably the most famous assault made on English Catholicism in the nineteenth century' (p.159).

220. The suggestion that women are particularly vulnerable to conversion is later echoed in two cartoons, 'The Brompton Area-Sneak' (January 1865) [241b] and 'Two Girls of the Period' (February 1869) [255a]; in both of these Roman Catholic priests appear as dirty and disreputable. This type of depiction by Tenniel was not exceptional; as Duthie notes: 'Bill Sikes caught in his most burglarious mood by the artist and thrust into clerical clothes is apparently the model from which they are drawn' (pp.39-40).

221. Norman, p.91.

222. For a rather different portrayal see 'The Pope's Mad Bull!' (January 1865) [241a], in which Tenniel portrays him as a dull, heavy animal in a jester's cap, ramming his solid head against the brick wall of Science, Common Sense, Toleration, Civil and Religious Liberty, and Progress.

223. For other cartoons on ritualism, see 'The Battle of the Rubric' (February 1866) [244a], 'A Pan-Anglican Washing Day' (October 1867) [248a], and '"Punch" Anti-"Romaine"!' (August 1874) [270a].

224. The Lay of St Odille, printed by De La More Press for

Samuel Gurney and sold by The Society of SS Peter and Paul, 1915.

225. The Ingoldsby Legends, London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1907. Browne's portraits of Richard and Robert of Birchington show Tenniel's influence; he also virtually copies Leech's 'Hamilton Tighe' and Cruikshank's 'Dead Drummer' illustrations.

224. The Ingoldsby Legends, London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1898. Rackham produced twelve coloured designs and ninety in black and white.

225. The Ingoldsby Legends, London: Macmillan, 1911. Theaker provided sixteen excellent, brightly coloured plates, some of them reminiscent of Rackham with their eerie-looking people and humorous ghosts and goblins.

226. See also '"Doom'd!"' (July 1871), 'That Ballot-Boy Again!' (July 1872), and 'A Good Beginning' (August 1872); equally grotesque is a torpedo with arms and legs in '"Fiat Experimentum - !"' (June 1877), and a tree with a smiling face in 'Cut and Come Again!' (August 1883).

## III REALISM

### Introduction

The late 1850s and early 1860s marked a brief departure for Tenniel into the illustration of contemporary fiction. An enormous novel-reading public had developed by this time, with George Cruikshank and Hablot K. Browne ('Phiz') two of the foremost artists; since Browne's illustrations to Pickwick Papers in 1836, engravings on steel or wood had been practically indispensable as far as serialised fiction was concerned.

As the 1860s approached, however, a new and more realistic style was developing in the illustration of fiction, so that when Tenniel came to contribute to two novels by his friend and colleague Shirley Brooks, he was at the forefront of a new movement that was soon to include such prominent 'sixties' artists as John Everett Millais, Frederick Walker, George du Maurier and Charles Keene. At the same time, in view of the narrative function of book illustration, it is interesting to trace parallels between Tenniel's designs and some of the narrative paintings exhibited during the 1850s and early 1860s.

Charles William Shirley Brooks (1815-1874) bears the distinction of being the only novelist, in an age of novelists, for whom Tenniel provided a substantial set of illustrations. His two serialised novels, The Gordian Knot (1858-59) and The Silver Cord (1860-61), contain practically the only examples of Tenniel's work in the contemporary, domestic field: a genre in which Frances Sarzano for one wishes he had done more.[227]

Brooks joined Punch in 1851, a year after Tenniel, becoming

officially one of the staff in May 1852. He was more cultured than the magazine's rather down-to-earth first editor, Mark Lemon, but, unlike his colleagues Percival Leigh and Tom Taylor, he was not a university man, having been articled to a solicitor uncle before finally choosing journalism as his true vocation. One of his major contributions to the magazine was his satirical 'The Essence of Parliament', which ran for twenty years from 1854 until his death. Early in life Brooks assumed the nickname of Shirley, and was known as 'dear old Shirley' to his friends; he was a witty and genial man, the life and soul of any social gathering, although his younger colleague George du Maurier found him at first 'rather snarling & sarcastic' as well as being 'a deuced amusing fellow'.[228] Brooks quickly became the main 'ideas man' for the weekly cartoon, which was deliberated upon at the Wednesday Punch dinners, and when Lemon died in May 1870 Brooks took his place, to be succeeded by Tom Taylor on his untimely death in 1874.

An interesting aspect to these two novels of Brooks' is the fact that they stand on either side of a landmark in the illustration of contemporary fiction: John Everett Millais' six designs to Anthony Trollope's Framley Parsonage (1860-61), serialised in The Cornhill Magazine. As a founder-member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy, Millais was in the forefront of the 'high art' world of his day, and his designs for Trollope served to raise the status of black-and-white illustration, and with it, of course, the status of the artist. In the past the author had often assumed a

dominant role, allowing the artist little say in the choice of subject or mode of illustration, but the collaboration between Trollope and Millais was an equal one, which resulted in equal importance being given to text and illustration. Thanks to his academic training, Millais also brought a broader, more representational style to the illustration of contemporary fiction, such as was appearing in narrative paintings of the day, and this influence can be seen by comparing Tenniel's rather cramped Gordian Knot designs with the more spacious style he employs for The Silver Cord.

One major difference between the two artists remains, however: while Millais tends to present his characters in an emotionally understated way in keeping with his author's measured and sober style (albeit at dramatic moments and turning points in their lives), some of Tenniel's illustrations are still tinged with theatricality and grotesqueness, reflecting an interest in the theatre which he shared with his author. Just as Brooks' fiction alternates between the middle-class domesticity of Trollope and the grotesqueness of Dickens, so Tenniel's accompanying illustrations reflect either realism or sensationalism, his more 'quiet', domestic scenes having much in common with those of Millais, while his more dramatic ones are closer to the work of Cruikshank and Phiz. As noted previously, it was often Tenniel's instinct to choose a dramatic moment for illustration, and this is no less true in his designs for Brooks, so that his characters, with their typically melodramatic poses, sometimes seem to play to the viewer as to a theatre audience.

However, it should also be noted that, in the theatre world itself, melodrama and reality were drawing closer together at this time, with domestic subjects becoming more popular, and this development seems to be echoed in Tenniel's designs.

Brooks was, in fact, a prolific and reasonably successful playwright;[229] in 1845 he joined the Dramatic Authors' Society, to which at various times Douglas Jerrold, Mark Lemon and Tom Taylor also belonged, and in 1867 he took part with Tenniel and other colleagues in the benefit performances for Charles Bennett's family. One of his many journalistic roles was that of theatre critic for the influential Morning Chronicle, which earned him the praise of Dickens,[230] while in the footsteps of Richard Barham he served on the committee of the Garrick Club, making a special point of attending in May 1873 when Tenniel's membership was put forward; Brooks was delighted to advise his friend and record in his diary that the election had been unanimous.

The Gordian Knot

Brooks' first novel was the unillustrated Aspen Court of 1855, written at the invitation of Richard Bentley. Bentley had long been a publisher of novels, having established a series of classics, known as 'Bentley's Standard Novels', in 1831; this had grown to well over one hundred six-shilling volumes by 1855, when the series came to an end. In response to an ever-increasing reading public, Bentley then ventured into new fiction, in the form of monthly, one-shilling parts, which he later published in volume form on completion of the serialisation.

The success of Aspen Court led on to The Gordian Knot, which was illustrated with twenty-two steel-engraved designs by Tenniel, and serialised in monthly parts of four to five chapters each. The first nine parts appeared between January and November 1858, with a two-month break during the traditional holiday period of August and September; after November a combination of family illness and ever-pressing journalistic commitments brought an unexpected delay of an entire year, leading Brooks' colleagues to joke about the novel's being 'known in the trade as The Gordian Not Yet'.[231] Richard Bentley did not take the situation so lightly, and was at one stage threatening legal proceedings,[232] but Brooks eventually resumed work, the final three parts appeared in December 1859 in a special three-shilling instalment, and the 1860 volume edition went ahead, complete with Tenniel's illustrations.

As one might expect, Brooks' theatrical interests feature prominently in the novel, which displays a mixture of Dickensian drama and Trollopean domestic twists and turns. It contains the three essential characters of English melodrama: Margaret Spencer, the innocent, country-bred heroine, Philip Arundel, the misled and rather weak hero, and Alban Cheriton, the monomaniacal villain who plots the hero's downfall in order to possess Margaret for himself. Margaret is practically an orphan: born in India, she is still a baby when her mother elopes with a lover; her father, an army captain, sends her to the English home of her kindly and respectable aunt and uncle, Dr and Mrs Cheriton, the equivalent of the good old parents of melodrama who live a

simple, country existence. On reaching maturity she receives an arbitrary order from her father to move to the London home of her spendthrift uncle, Robert Spencer: again a typically melodramatic situation. As Michael Booth puts it:

> Contrasts between country virtue and city vice, and the importation of naive rural heroines into urban moral squalor, were always popular.[233]

Similarly, Brooks employs the theatrical devices of intrigue and blackmail to motivate the plot, while the employment of private detectives to foil Captain Spencer, the novel's secondary villain, reinforces the general atmosphere of mystery and suspense.

In London Margaret meets Philip Arundel, the spoilt and shallow son of an MP; after a brief courtship they marry, Philip having written to his secret mistress, Maria, to end their relationship. When a son is born, Margaret lavishes all her attention on him, and unintentionally neglects Philip; at the same time her jealous cousin, Alban Cheriton, tries to ruin the couple's relationship. The vengeful Maria becomes the typical adventuress, assisting the villain in his machinations by leaving letters from her ex-lover with him; Alban soon 'plants' one of these where he knows Margaret will find it. Her faith in Philip badly shaken, and following Alban's advice regarding her baby's health, Margaret leaves for the seaside, and the separation begins. To complicate matters, her disreputable father, a more suave and sophisticated villain than Alban, unexpectedly meets her off the train: he has come to England with his opium-addicted, estranged wife in the hope of embarrassing Philip's

father into paying him money to go away again.

Brooks' portrayal of Alban forms the major melodramatic element of the novel. He develops his villain's obsessive nature slowly and skilfully, at first causing the reader to feel sympathy for him, especially as his rather weak rival seems so unworthy of Margaret. In parallel with the text, Tenniel's illustrations move gradually from a realistic to a sensational style; like a Hogarthian moral 'progress', they serve to map the young Alban's gradual transformation from handsome, serious medical student in 'The Cousins' [97b] to the ugly, crazed figure in 'Alban?' [103a] who suggests to Margaret that, in order for them to be together, he must kill Philip and poison the child. 'The Patient' [98b], a design of strong psychological force, shows Alban brooding in his shadowy room, a skull staring up at him from the table; later, his pinched expression in the ironically titled 'A True Friend' [100a] suggests his deceptive nature. In a novel which contains several young men, Tenniel cleverly differentiates between them all, and Alban in particular becomes unmistakeable as the plot develops.

Like the hero of melodrama, Philip learns and matures through misfortune: in his case the minimal punishment of separation. Although himself a <u>bon viveur</u> and non-churchgoer, Brooks' novels display an obsessively rigid social and domestic morality which he clearly felt he had to uphold, at least in print. Predictably it is Philip's cast-off mistress who is made to suffer most, Brooks wavering uncomfortably between sympathetic bathos and bigoted horror whenever Maria appears - the influence,

perhaps, of what Michael Steig calls the 'hysterical narrative' used by Dickens in connection with fallen women.[234] Brooks avoids using Maria's name, and sometimes even denies her her gender by referring simply to 'it'; unimaginatively, in his need to show good triumphing over evil, he punishes Maria with consumption, her deathbed act being to reunite the somewhat half-hearted hero and heroine.

One reason for this prudery was the general atmosphere of morality prevailing at the time. Censorship was quite strictly exerted by the lending libraries, so that what Brooks might speak about openly in private, middle-class male company, he dares only hint at before the wider audience of his novel. This reticence, particularly in relation to 'fallen women', is also present in an interesting form in Tenniel's designs. For example, in the early 'Calypso' illustration [96a] he conceals the bereft Maria's face, not only by the positioning of her head on the table, but also by the full sleeve of her dress. This is in sharp contrast to William Holman Hunt's daringly full-face treatment of the woman in his narrative painting The Awakening Conscience (1853-4), to which Tenniel's design could almost be a sequel, right down to the circular table with its distinctively carved feet, the littered floor, and the open French windows with their net curtains.

Tenniel later portrays Maria in 'The Patient' [98b] as a dark, heavily-veiled figure standing in the doorway; later still, in 'A Willing Witness' [101a], she is scarcely noticeable through the crack in the door as she overhears Philip confiding in his

false friend Alban. Alban later leads Margaret to believe, quite erroneously, that Philip has had a child by his ex-mistress, but Maria herself appears at the crucial moment to expose Alban's lies: 'Atonements' [103b] shows her lying on the floor, having fainted under the emotional strain, her face tactfully hidden by Mr Arundel Senior as he supports her head. Thus, in the deliberate concealment of Maria, and especially of her face, Tenniel collaborates with Brooks in his adherence to the period's spirit of reticence and censorship. He was not the first artist to present such women in this way: Browne does the same in his portrayals of Emily and Martha in David Copperfield (1849-50) and of Lady Dedlock in Bleak House (1852-3),[235] as does Augustus Egg in his portrayal of the unfaithful wife in the first painting of his triptych Past and Present (1858).

Another source of discomfort for Brooks was the increasingly democratic nature of society. His right-wing views made him unsympathetic towards the underprivileged, to the extent that on one occasion he was heard by colleagues to remark 'that all poor people are scamps and scoundrels and degraded beasts'.[236] This attitude makes him far less successful than Dickens and, as we shall see, F.W. Robinson, in the portrayal of working-class and criminal life; stereotypically, and hypocritically in view of his own lifestyle,[237] he dwells on the poor's fondness for alcohol, expressing the common belief that their poverty is a direct result of their drinking habits. He also clearly associates the lower classes with political unrest: one rather superfluous scene, pictured by Tenniel in 'Modern Druids' [98a], involves

Robert Spencer's visit to a public house where discontented workmen hold debates; himself a bankrupt, Spencer nurses a grievance against the Bank of England, and would like to see it abolished. Brooks presents all such debating as disordered, foolish and futile.

Thus, while melodrama proper tended to reflect working-class hatred of the tyrannical upper classes, Brooks, who shared with many of his contemporaries a sense of insecurity in the face of social reform, reverses the trend. Just as the fallen woman was a threat to the stability of family life and polite society, so working-class democratic aspirations seemed to threaten to turn that society upside-down. Tenniel's own conservative views would to a large extent have chimed in with Brooks', as is evident from many of his political cartoons, the majority of which until 1874 were drawn under Brooks' influence and suggestion. As Morris notes,[238] Tenniel portrays working-class and low-life figures stereotypically: the former with brooding and sometimes threatening features, the latter - commonly referred to as 'roughs' - with high cheekbones and generally coarse physiognomies. His design 'At Break of Day' [201b], in S.C. Hall's temperance book An Old Story (1876), is another example of this type, again juxtaposed with alcohol. Thus, in 'Modern Druids', Tenniel presents a typical set of rough-looking men, comparable with the giant working-man in danger of being allowed a vote in his cartoon 'The Brummagem Frankenstein' (September 1866) [245a], drawn a few months before the passing of the Second Reform Act. Brooks would have accepted without

question, one feels, this portrayal of the lower classes as sub-human.

Brooks' heavy satire on Robert and Henrietta Spencer, who constitute his attempt at a comic sub-plot, is another example of his social snobbery, his ridiculing of Henrietta resting mainly upon her frequent comic misquotes, or inappropriate quotations, from plays. The Spencers are nominally middle-class but, because of their shaky finances and 'low' tastes, are felt by their author not to be entirely acceptable in polite society, and he depicts them as rather grotesque characters: Robert Spencer is so far beyond the pale that he does not appear in any of Tenniel's illustrations, while the gross Aunt Henrietta appears only once, in the frontispiece [94].

Another interesting but again somewhat superfluous episode is that in which Philip is forced to entertain a group of his father's country-bumpkin constituents. By comparison with, say, A Midsummer Night's Dream, in which the mechanicals retain their dignity in spite of their limited vision, there is little here of Shakespeare's good-humouredly affectionate portrayal of the lower classes. Brooks' inherent social prejudice leaves a bitter taste: he clearly wishes his reader to despise the unwanted guests as he himself despises them, not only for getting drunk (at Philip's encouragement, incidentally), but also for daring to mix with the upper-middle-class Arundel sisters. The lunch ends embarrassingly, with one of the visitors attempting to kiss the hand of one of the angelic young women; Tenniel's 'A Deputation' [97a] captures perfectly Philip's sense of outrage as he steps

forward to intervene.

Brooks is more successful in portraying his own social level, and middle-class male society in particular. 'Telemachus and Mentor' [96b] shows Philip with his friend, John Claxton, in the latter's bachelor apartment in one of the Inns of Court; the atmosphere is one of casual comfort as Claxton tries to dissuade Philip from proposing marriage to Margaret. It is worth comparing Philip's easy air of nonchalance here with his awkward, disgruntled appearance in 'Inattention' [99a], which marks the beginnings of discord between the married couple. Here Tenniel follows in the footsteps of Hogarth, Cruikshank, Browne and others in his symbolic use of paintings on the walls of the room, the large, centrally placed shipwreck having obvious significance, and again forming a parallel with Egg's Past and Present. While 'Inattention' contrasts in one way with 'Telemachus', 'A True Friend' [100a] shows the darker side of male camaraderie in the novel, whereby the malicious Alban befriends Philip in order to corrupt him through drink. He first takes Philip to watch a surgical operation, after which he gives him a few necessarily stiff drinks, then brings him home to Margaret in a state of advanced intoxication. Later, as Tenniel depicts here, he encourages Philip to stay out drinking rather than go home to his family: a typical ploy of the melodramatic villain. Significantly, Alban's glass is full - he is no doubt only pretending to drink - while Philip's is empty and about to be refilled. In such plates as these Tenniel is able to pinpoint the crises in the lives of the story's characters.

Brooks' interest in domestic conflict was to a large extent personal: his own marriage was not entirely happy,[239] and he himself enjoyed the company of other men's wives, as long as they were pretty and intelligent. Philip's part-innocent, part-guilty scene with the prima ballerina depicted in 'Attention' [99b] (explicitly titled to form a companion-piece to 'Inattention') parallels Brooks' own admission of susceptibility to a pretty face; in a letter of September 1866 to one of his women friends he laments his wife's annoyance at his undisguised attraction towards an actress during a visit to the Adelphi Theatre:

> It was not my fault. I am susceptible. I have a large heart. I submit, perhaps, too easily, to fascinations.[240]

He was clearly trying to resolve such turbulent feelings in this novel. Another difficulty between Brooks and his wife was Emily's lack of sympathy towards his work, which she saw merely as a means to an end. In spite of all this, however, Brooks' diary entries convey a strong bond of affection between them. Emily's second name was Margaret and, like her Gordian Knot namesake, she was born in a British colony (Trinidad, rather than India), so that the novel's heroine would be something of a compliment to her. In addition to this, Brooks chivalrously portrays Philip as the more guilty party, his shallow immaturity set against Margaret's almost angelic simplicity.[241] There are other autobiographical glimmers: Margaret's country upbringing is based partly on Brooks' own five-year employment at Oswestry under his solicitor uncle, and it is tempting to suggest that the characters of Margaret and Alban, brought up as they are in the

same family home, represent the positive and negative sides of Brooks' own psyche.

Tenniel's special cover design [92] appeared with all the serialised parts of the novel, and would be to its potential readers the first indication of the story's inherent theatricality;[242] laid out explicitly in the style of contemporary advertisements for sensational drama [93], it contains eight vignettes which supposedly depict key scenes from the novel. To symbolise the book's title and the windings of the plot these vignettes are bound together by an intricately wound tape, knotted at the centre, and with the two main characters caught in its tangle.

In order to appear in time for the first instalment, this design clearly had to be drawn in advance of the novel's being written, and Brooks, in his initial and perhaps sketchy outlining of the plot to Tenniel, must have given it a somewhat 'sensational' aspect, for some of these starkly melodramatic scenes exaggerate or even misrepresent the events of the novel. For instance, if the indignant woman in the lower right-hand corner is Margaret, ordering Philip to leave after having read his letter to Maria, then such an event never takes place; similarly, the vignette in the lower left, depicting a man covering his eyes with one hand and clutching a letter in the other while a kneeling woman raises her clasped hands to him as if for mercy, also bears little relation to any situation. Finally, the vignette just above this one, in which Margaret is depicted actively ransacking a writing desk, is a gross

exaggeration: in the novel she discovers Philip's incriminating letter quite by accident, as is more accurately and believably portrayed in 'A Misdelivered Letter' [100b].

Two vignettes do, however, come closer to their equivalents in the novel: the one at the very top, showing Philip and Margaret at the seaside during their courtship, is close to the later design, entitled 'Love in Idleness'; similarly, the vignette to the right of the central knot, in which Philip hands a nosegay to a dancer, bears some relationship to 'Attention' [99b], in which he helps the prima ballerina on with her cloak, not realising that his wife has seen him from her opera box. However, the plate makes Philip appear to be far more culpable than does the vignette, owing to the greater proximity of the dancer, and to the presence of a devil figure in the background.

All of these discrepancies suggest that in practice, as each chapter emerged, the novel's events and circumstances became modified into something far more believable and 'ordinary'. Another explanation for the disparity is of a purely commercial nature: Tenniel's eyecatching cover, with its strikingly explicit theatrical scenes, would have had an immediate appeal to popular tastes. In the event, stark sensationalism gives place to something more identifiably human: 'Calypso' [96a] is full of pathos for the discarded mistress, 'Inattention' [99a] is a telling examination of shifting family relationships, and 'A Misdelivered Letter' [100b] forces the viewer to share in Margaret's sense of cold horror and disbelief when confronted with evidence of the dubious character of her husband's past

life. Such is the recognisably everyday quality of these designs that they would have been equally appropriate as subjects for narrative paintings.

However, despite the absence of crude sensationalism, theatrical elements are far from excluded. The theatre itself features prominently, with visits to the opera, ballet and theatre, as suggested by the vignette in the upper right-hand corner of the cover design, while 'Attention' [99b] and 'The Little Star' [104a] take place explicitly on stage. Besides this, Tenniel's figures are often turned towards their 'audience' in a consciously posed manner like actors on a stage, 'A Willing Witness' [101a] and 'Alban?' [103a] being typical examples. There is a parallel, of course, between the two media, in that neither the audience at a play nor the viewer of an illustration is able to move round the action, and this fixed position dictates that they must be acted <u>to</u>. Similarly, Tenniel's figures exude an air of theatricality in their use of melodramatic, sometimes almost balletic, poses to convey moments of heightened emotion: the frozen stances and frightened faces in 'The Ayah and her Charge' [95] when a tiger breaks out of its cage as Margaret's ship arrives in England; Philip's dignified surprise in 'A Willing Witness' [101a]; the tense consternation of all present in 'Atonements' [103b]; and the frantic terror of Margaret's mother in 'The Iron Pit' [104b], about to be thrown down a disused mineshaft by Captain Spencer.

Another recurring theatrical feature in the illustrations is the way in which characters make their entrances as onto a stage:

Philip propels himself into the melee of the drunken lunch party in 'A Deputation' [97a]; 'The Patient' [98b] depicts Maria about to enter Alban's study, while 'A Willing Witness' [101a] shows her eavesdropping at his door, on both occasions seen only by the viewer; 'Duke's Grandfather' [101b] (an anticipation, and not in viewpoint alone, of William Powell Frith's The Railway Station of 1862) shows Margaret stepping from her train into the picture; in 'Virginius on Guard' [102a] Captain Spencer enters Margaret's hotel room unannounced (the names given to father and daughter, Virginius and Virginia, are an ironic reference to Sheridan Knowles' popular play); and, as we have just seen, there is the notable dramatic exit of Mrs Spencer at the end of the novel [104b].

In a similar way, some of Tenniel's backgrounds are stage-like; besides the large items of real stage scenery cluttering the background of 'Attention' [99b], and Zuleika's backdrop in 'The Little Star' [104a], some more subtle sets appear in the domestic scenes: the open French windows and garden in 'Calypso' [96a]; the archway enclosing Margaret and Alban in 'The Cousins' [97b]; and a pleasant seascape viewed through open windows in 'Virginius on Guard' [102a]. Lighting effects, too, are interesting, especially in indoor scenes. There is the minimal light coming through Alban's window in 'The Patient' [98b]; the flickering light cast suggestively by the theatrical devil in 'Attention' [99b]; and the pool of light cast by John Claxton's candle in 'Where is Virginia?' [102b]. For the latter design Brooks provides a specific stage direction which Tenniel is quick

to take up: as Margaret's Hindu nurse clutches at Philip, 'Her dark skin looked almost black in the half-lighted room, and her eyes glittered like those of a cat.' These artificially lighted scenes form a contrast to the more numerous daylight ones, and contribute to the sombre atmosphere of the novel.

As this latter design shows, Brooks' portrayal of the orient gives the novel an exotic flavour. The threatening aspects of India are embodied, early in the story, in the escaping tiger [95], a motif which recurs when Margaret's father 'escapes' into her domestic circle, threatening blackmail and the destruction of her new family's well-being; referred to explicitly in tiger imagery, Captain Spencer seems just as frightening and dangerous as the wild animal. After the early childhood scenes Brooks has little use for Margaret's nurse until the closing chapters, in which she has only a small and somewhat contrived part to play, so that she seems to exists merely for the sake of some occasional exotic colour within the novel's texture. Brooks' colonial prejudices emerge in his portrayal of her as naive and childlike, while another predictable stereotype is the adulterous Mrs Spencer's addiction to opium and preference for sitting on a mattress on the floor.

The strongest elements of <u>The Gordian Knot</u> are, then, its affinities with melodrama, and with popular sensational fiction. Besides the innocent heroine's helplessness against a scheming father, there is an ingredient of psychological horror in Alban's abnormal behaviour, given an explicitly gothic character in Tenniel's depiction of him in his room [98b]: a design which

recalls his illustration of the same year to Poe's 'The Raven' [74a]. Most horrific of all, though, is the novel's spine-chilling conclusion at the disused mine: Brooks may well have felt the reunion of Margaret and Philip to be anti-climactic, so that a brutal separation between another couple was the only way of achieving a strong ending. He describes the scene in vivid detail:

> a hideous and agonized shriek as he [Spencer] launched his living burden down the awful abyss, and of the dull, shuddering sound, a moment later, as the suddenly disturbed water closed upon the victim.

As in the case of Maria, it is the fallen woman who is eventually punished, and yet again Tenniel turns her face away from the viewer [104b]. 'The Iron Pit' was singled out for admiration by Forrest Reid:[243] it is indeed an equal match to Brooks' effective departure into gothic sensationalism, and a powerful image with which to close the novel.

Brooks' novel is thus a heady mixture of sensationalism and realism: his characters behave in a psychologically believable way, but at the same time they are divided into 'ordinary' people with whom the reader can identify, and extraordinary people who fulfil the need for an exciting plot. It is for this reason that The Gordian Knot cannot, unlike a Trollope novel, be classed as fully 'realistic', in spite of the conventions within which Brooks was writing. It is to Tenniel's credit that he was able to accommodate both aspects, both here and in Brooks' next novel, where the influence of Millais' illustrative style begins to be seen.

## The Silver Cord

Unlike The Gordian Knot, The Silver Cord did not appear in monthly shilling parts, but was serialised in Bradbury and Evans' new weekly magazine, Once A Week, between November 1860 and September 1861. It was accompanied by forty-three designs by Tenniel, wood-engraved by Swain, each one set at the head of the week's instalment. Their function thus differed from that of the steel-engraved plates inserted between appropriate pages of The Gordian Knot, where the design, given the added significance of an often cryptic title, is less of an introductory one than a means of commentary on a chapter. Tenniel's Silver Cord illustrations are closer not so much to the plates of the earlier novel than to the vignettes in its cover design [92]; they serve to whet the reader's appetite for what is to come, the characters often appearing in dramatic poses at moments of heightened emotion [110a, 111a, 112a-b, 113a].

Indirectly, The Silver Cord might not have been written at all if it had not been for Dickens, whose decision to discontinue his popular Household Words following a disagreement with Bradbury and Evans led the publishers to establish a replacement periodical at the end of June 1859. It was Brooks who gave Once A Week its name; on 28 June he wrote in a letter:

> the new periodical Once a Week, which Mr. Dickens's conduct has almost compelled his old partners to begin, and with which I am closely associated, is published this week.[244]

The first two novels to be serialised in the new magazine were George Meredith's Evan Harrington, illustrated by Tenniel's Punch

colleague Charles Keene, and Charles Reade's A Good Fight, known later in its enlarged version as The Cloister and the Hearth. On first appearance these were relatively unpopular with readers, so that Brooks' new work was specifically designed to boost the circulation figures. It seems curious now that The Silver Cord, described by Brooks' biographer G.S. Layard as 'dull, tiresome, and long-winded',[245] was preferred to the work of Meredith and Reade. Brooks, however, as an experienced journalist, was in the habit of knowing what his public wanted, and was happy to provide it. The story was certainly a popular success, attracting so much interest that many readers sent in suggestions as to how the plot should develop.

As noted above, this period of the early 1860s was an important one as far as the illustration of contemporary fiction was concerned. The Silver Cord appeared just ten months behind Trollope's Framley Parsonage, which was serialised in another new magazine, The Cornhill, between January 1860 and April 1861, and contained six illustrations by John Everett Millais. The popularity of Trollope's novel brought Millais to the forefront of the new style in contemporary illustration, derived from a classically-based, academic training which contrasted with the older, more sketchy style of artists such as Cruikshank and Phiz. As we have seen, Tenniel's own training, although to a large extent self-directed, had been in the same classical school, and Keene was another artist very much at home in this tradition.

Tenniel was sure to have seen both Keene's and Millais' illustrations to contemporary fiction; indeed, he could hardly

have missed his own colleague's designs to Evan Harrington in a publication to which he was also contributing, while by the time he came to draw his first illustration to The Silver Cord in November 1860 four of Millais' six designs to Framley Parsonage would already have appeared. The new influence can be detected in the greater breadth of Tenniel's designs in The Silver Cord as opposed to those in The Gordian Knot: as comparable scenes from the two novels demonstrate, his human figures are noticeably larger in relation to their surroundings and to the space available, and thus dominate the page more fully [100a, 111a; 100b, 113b; 101a, 112a; 103a, 110a]. This new-found breadth also allows him to give greater emphasis to the depiction of women's wide crinoline dresses, an aspect for which Millais was already notorious with his portrayal of Lucy Robarts in 'Was it not a lie?' of June 1860; without allowing the crinoline to become a subject in its own right, Tenniel uses it as a decorative element in some of his own designs [109b, 110a, 112b].

Like The Gordian Knot, The Silver Cord is set within the familiar context of domestic upheaval, with just enough sensation and mystery to sustain the reader's interest and curiosity. Layard emphasises its essentially dramatic basis:

> Here [Brooks] set himself to write a story, "devoid as far as possible of description, either moral or physical, and resting its claims to attention on action and dialogue, after the manner of the French novels of the day."[246]

The story is, on analysis, simple and straightforward. It opens as Arthur Lygon, a civil servant, returns home to find that his wife Laura has left him and their three children suddenly and

without explanation; the worst is suspected when it emerges that she has travelled to Paris with a strange man. The rest of the novel is centred around this dilemma, and it is a credit to Brooks' powers of endurance and invention that he was able to sustain the mystery of Laura's disappearance for almost one hundred chapters. In this he equals Trollope, another master at prolonging a situation at length, and throws an occasional morsel of long-awaited information to his reader - a device designed, of course, to sell the next instalment.

The novel's domestic element is provided in the characters of three married couples and their children, while its more sensational figures include a blackmailer, a murderous ruffian and a set of French government spies. The sustained air of mystery and intrigue is compounded by such typically melodramatic events as a struggle to the death between a hero and a villain (the reader left in doubt for a time as to which one has survived), a dangerous card game, a stabbing, and a drowning, nearly all within a predominantly continental setting. The villain is Ernest Adair, more subtle, calculating and chilling than Alban Cheriton; he is the scheming blackmailer who precipitates the crisis: having at one time been the writing master of the three sisters, he has in his possession some early letters of Laura's which could be interpreted in an incriminating way, and it is on these very slightest and, one might add, unlikeliest of grounds that he is able to command her obedience to his whims.

The theatre itself plays a central role in <u>The Silver Cord</u>,

and in a more satisfyingly integrated way than it does in The Gordian Knot, where it serves merely as an external mechanism to the plot. For much of the nineteenth century those who earned their livings through the theatre were regarded with suspicion by many: even Dickens dissuaded his daughter Kate from becoming an actress with the statement that 'Although there are nice people on the stage, there are some who would make your hair stand on end.'[247] Brooks was clearly therefore attempting here to enhance the reputation of his own profession, not only through the impeccable character of Charles Hawkesley, the playwright husband of Laura's sister Beatrice, but also through that of the equally respectable theatre manager, Mr Aventayle. Interestingly enough, Adair has himself written a play, based unchivalrously on the lives of the women he is blackmailing, and by sheer coincidence he has sent it to Aventayle for consideration. Brooks might have made more of this situation, for little comes of it, but Aventayle's adverse judgment of the play at least reflects Adair's inherent immorality, emphasised by the fact that the moral man of letters Hawkesley is asked to rewrite it. Indeed, as a critic in The Illustrated Review recognised in 1872,[248] the character of Hawkesley is to a large extent an idealised self-portrait of Brooks himself; by comparison with him the novel's official hero, Arthur Lygon, is, like Philip Arundel, typically imperfect, for it is Charles who continues to believe in Laura while her husband loses faith.

Brooks' theatrical interests in this novel are again reflected in the work of his illustrator, although as we shall

see there are a number of quieter, more domestic scenes which serve to redress the balance. Tenniel's most overtly theatrical design shows an actor in devil's costume [110b], strongly reminiscent of a similar figure in The Gordian Knot [99b]: his costume and stance are almost identical, as is his positioning in relation to the viewer. However, while the earlier 'devil' is anonymous, and his profile ominously shaded, this actor has a more obviously human face, reflecting the fact that he bears the deliberately ordinary name of Grayling and is the father of a young family. While Brooks himself occasionally expressed prejudice against theatre personnel,[249] one senses here a reminder that such people are often decent members of society who, like anyone else, need to earn a living to support themselves and their dependants. Besides adding theatrical spice to the story, then, Grayling's presence serves to invite sympathy. More interestingly, though, he appears to symbolise the fact that people and situations (Laura's disappearance, for example) are not always what they seem: a point particularly relevant when one considers that the reader sees Tenniel's somewhat puzzling design before reading the explanatory text.

Another pictorial parallel can be found in two eavesdropping scenes: a favourite theatrical device which gives the audience the satisfaction of knowing more than the characters. The earlier 'A Willing Witness' [101a], in which Maria accidentally overhears a conversation between Alban and Philip, is echoed when, soon after Laura's arrival in Paris, she and her sister Bertha are spied on by the latter's maid, who has been forced by

Adair against her will to hide in a wardrobe and report what she hears [109b]; in both cases there are two central figures who are oblivious to the fact that they are being overheard by someone hiding behind a partially open door to the right.

The similarity of dramatic function between Tenniel's illustrations to this novel and his Gordian Knot cover design has already been mentioned. Indeed, the scene in which the guilty Bertha is shown on her knees, with outstretched arms and clasped hands, imploring Arthur not to betray her to her husband [110a], is almost a reversal of the vignette in the lower left of the earlier novel's cover [92]. Other moments of tension include a quarrel over a card game between Adair and the ruffian who later plays a part in his murder [111a]; a fight to the death between Adair and Urquhart [111b, 112a]; and, on a more domestic but still emotional level, Laura's reunion with her children as her doubting husband looks on with a frown [113a]. All of these scenes would have formed ideal vignettes, had the novel required a cover.

However, apart from these overtly dramatic poses, and as already noted in his designs to The Gordian Knot, Tenniel conveys subtler emotions at times, and it is here that he comes closest to Millais, so that one wonders what might have resulted from a collaboration between Trollope and Tenniel: the conversation between the two sisters [109b], for example, would not be out of place in a Barsetshire or Palliser novel. Most notable, though, because of its quiet pathos, is the opening scene to The Silver Cord [109a], which is surely worthy of a narrative painting in

its own right: Arthur has dropped the note, written in unfamiliar handwriting, which informs him of Laura's departure without explaining it, and Tenniel instils a desolate sense of loneliness in the semi-darkness of Laura's bedroom, so that even the mirror which once reflected her image now throws back only blankness and despair.

Such touches of psychological realism in this third novel of Brooks' reflect a gradual change in taste that was taking place at the time in literature, drama and art alike, whereby the sensationalised 'gothic' was being replaced by a more realistic and 'domestic' treatment. An example of this change is evident in Brooks' portrait of another fallen woman, towards whom he acts more leniently this time, perhaps because of her middle-class and marital status. This is Laura's second sister, Bertha Urquhart, who lives in Paris with her Scottish husband, Robert; fearing Robert's discovery of an earlier infidelity (which is never properly explained, no doubt due to Brooks' usual reticence in print), Bertha escapes to her sister Beatrice's home in London. Here, one morning shortly after her arrival, Beatrice breaks the news to her of Robert's death. This time Tenniel makes no attempt to hide her face [112b]; instead, her loose, wavy and flowing hair, contrasting with her earlier, neat appearance [110a], is a clear indication of her 'fallen' condition, recalling the typical Pre-Raphaelite 'Magdalene' figure of such paintings as Hunt's Awakening Conscience.

Unlike Maria, Bertha is not condemned to death through consumption, but merely disappears, presumably onto the streets;

sensing one morning that she no longer deserves a place in the respectable Hawkesley family, she conveniently tiptoes down the stairs and out of the novel [113b]. Thus, while Maria is barely visible throughout The Gordian Knot, Tenniel portrays Bertha in a much more open way, not least in this design which constitutes her last appearance. He does, however, hint at her unacceptability to polite society in a more realistically psychological way, by means of her awkwardly turned stance, so that she seems to look out at the viewer with a sense of guilt and shame.

Brooks had not fully shaken off the old style, however, and nor would one wish him to, for The Silver Cord would be terribly monotonous without it. One remaining element of the gothic can be found in the situations of fake supernaturalism, intrigue, danger and horror, which gave Tenniel an opportunity to produce some of the darkly-shaded designs at which he excelled, and which form a pleasing contrast to the daylight ones. Thus, the light from the table lamp in the theatre manager's office [110b] gives an effect of theatrical limelight, forming an eerie glow around the silhouetted head and torso of the deceptively sinister devil. In a similar way, the harsh ceiling lighting above the two gamblers [111a] gives the room a sleazy aspect and hints at the illegality of their actions. And finally, the moonlit scene in which watermen discover the drowned body of Adair [114], his blank, white face turned squarely towards the viewer, conveys a sense of the coldness of death: in its positioning towards the end of the novel and in its horrific aspect this event parallels

the forced demise of the unfortunate Mrs Spencer [104b].

Tenniel's forty-three illustrations represent a valuable contribution towards the novel; indeed, Layard felt that they were far superior to Brooks' text.[250] However, this was an enormous number of designs compared with the six which Millais drew, at two-monthly intervals, for Framley Parsonage, and there is sometimes a feeling that Tenniel was struggling to find inspiration week after week from Brooks' slow-moving and oversustained plot, for some of his designs do not show him at his best. Their large number was also probably the reason why, when Bradbury and Evans issued the novel in three-volume form later in 1861, no illustrations were included, not even in the form of a frontispiece, for the expense involved in reproducing so many would doubtless have been high. One design, at least, formed a frontispiece to the second edition of 1865: this is the rather unremarkable although representative one of Laura on board ship on her way back to England. The novel was clearly still popular enough by this time to exist without its illustrations, for it was on the occasion of this second edition that Brooks made a brief and businesslike diary entry: 'The cheap edition of the 'Silver Cord' is out to-day, and 1,200 have been already taken by the trade.'[251]

Thus, after two novels and sixty-five illustrations, ended a harmonious and fruitful collaboration between Brooks and Tenniel. Brooks may well have asked his friend to illustrate his next novel, Sooner or Later, which was serialised between 1866 and 1868, but by 1866 Tenniel would be working on his numerous

designs to W.H. Miller's evangelical book, The Mirage of Life, published in 1867, and was perhaps beginning to feel that he had already produced his best work for Brooks. Instead, another Punch colleague, George du Maurier, provided Brooks with sixteen illustrations, including two frontispieces and a title-page design. However, Tenniel and Brooks continued working together on the staff of Punch on a week-by-week basis, as well as visiting each other's homes for social and business reasons, until Brooks' death in 1874, Tenniel surviving his friend by exactly forty years. Despite their very different temperaments and characters, the creative powers of the two men had coincided with one of the most fruitful periods in the illustration of contemporary fiction, and at a time when a more realistic style was evolving in line with changing tastes in art and literature.

Hurst and Blackett

Tenniel's only other contributions to contemporary fiction were three frontispieces to Hurst and Blackett's 'Standard Library' series: to Frederick William Robinson's Grandmother's Money and No Church in 1862, and to Dinah Maria Mulock's A Noble Life in 1869. All three designs are in the mature style noted above in connection with his Silver Cord designs, and are fully in line with the essential realism of his two authors.

The novels of Robinson (1830-1901) and Mulock (1826-1887) are examples of the nineteenth-century trend in moral fiction, the latter being the more explicit preacher of the two. Both had over fifty books to their credit, many of them published by Hurst and Blackett, so that when Robert Lee Wolff describes Robinson as

'one of those Victorian professional novelists whose books are counted by the dozen'[252] he could equally well be speaking of Mulock.

Robinson's biographer[253] suggests that he wrote too quickly to produce works of quality: this may be true of some of his later novels, but not of Grandmother's Money and No Church, which are not only readable but entertaining too. Robinson has a style and an interest of his own, and in his day he had many faithful readers. A number of Robinson's titles have religious connotations, most notably High Church (1860), No Church (1861), Church and Chapel (1863) and Beyond the Church (1866); all of these, which have recently appeared in the Garland Reprint Series, reveal the novelist's evangelical, anti-tractarian leanings. No Church can be classed equally among Robinson's many 'low life' novels:[254] here he can be compared with Dickens, whom he often emulates, and at the same time contrasted with the middle-class reactionary Shirley Brooks, in his social and moral concern for the urban masses. As Wolff suggests, Robinson is at his best when portraying the criminal and lower classes, and novels like these place him as an early social realist.[255] Indeed, his descriptions were so true to life, based as they were on actual records, that they attracted donations from readers that went towards financing prison reforms.

No Church centres on the non-attendance of the working classes at church and chapel services, first highlighted in the findings of a countrywide religious census taken in 1851. While Robinson is clearly on the side of Liberal or Broad Church

principles, his general argument is that any form of churchgoing is better than none, even if the sermon is a little dull. He gives Jacob Parslow, a poor East-End clergyman of the Christian Socialist type, some critical words to say about the novel's representative working-class agnostic family:

> 'These Specklands are of the No Church class, and No Church stands on the devil's own ground, and is full of pitfalls.'[256]

Hugh Speckland is given the most to say about the perils of churchgoing, attaching much of the blame to ritualism, and it is only through his love for the heroine of the novel, Bessy Calverton, that Hugh feels he can find faith in God:

> 'You will love me, ... take me for your husband, become my teacher, guide, and confidant again, set my steps aright, and see they falter not as they turn away for ever from the No Church path ...'[257]

This grave responsibility is hinted at in Tenniel's frontispiece [130b], which reinforces the belief that it is the woman in Victorian society who bears the burden of her family's spiritual well-being.

The frontispiece is captioned 'What Book's That?', and is a realistic representation of a poor East-End attic room with bare floorboards and a sloping, flaking ceiling. Seated on her bed is Bessy Calverton, whose formative years have been spent in Wales with her strict Methodist uncle and cousin, Matthew and Mary Davis. She holds a small Bible - a farewell gift from Mary - in her hand, and looks trustingly up at her elder sister Lotty, while a few rays of light from a small lamp behind her head symbolise the spiritual light to be found in the book. The whole

thrust of the design lies in the sharp diagonal created by Lotty's right arm as she points sneeringly down at the Bible. While this line divides the design, it also suggests a moral division between the sisters, for one is a Madonna and one a Magdalen: Lotty's criminal father has forced her into prostitution, and Tenniel suggests her fallen nature by showing her with bare feet and dishevelled, wavy hair, while Bessy's purity is evident in her neat, straight hair and plain dark dress.

This frontispiece subject is an appropriate one, for Mary Davis' Bible plays a central and recurring role in the novel. Lotty helps her younger sister escape a similar fate to her own, but partly out of jealousy asks Bessy to leave the book behind. Bessy agrees to do so as long as Lotty will read it - an echo of the promise Mary demanded of Bessy before they were separated - and Lotty makes a half-promise. In the course of the remainder of the novel, whenever the two sisters meet, Lotty comments on the effect the book is having on her. At first she calls it 'that dreadful Bible!' and claims that 'it has been nearly the death of me - it has told me so much.'[258] Later she admits to reading it regularly, almost compulsively: it gives her 'hope that even the worst of us can be saved'.[259] And only two pages before the end, as Lotty sails for Canada and a new life, Bessy asks her to 'remember Mary Davis's Bible'.[260]

Grandmother's Money, first published in 1860, preaches a clear sermon against avarice, its epigraph, 'See what money can do', suggesting the influence Mrs Tresdaile's possessions have

over some of her younger relatives, as well as on her own behaviour. Robinson's imagery is explicit: the old woman's account books, her only 'bible', are consulted religiously as if her life and soul depended upon them: 'those brass-bound, statistical books of worship, which were opened daily, studied hard, perhaps prayed over![261]

Tenniel's frontispiece [130a], captioned 'Grandmother Tresdaile's Coup d'Etat', shows the indomitable woman removing her spoilt granddaughter Alice from a ball on the suspicion that an elopement has been about to take place. Watched closely by her grandmother, the obedient Alice descends, modestly pulling her cloak around an elaborate gown reminiscent of the huge dresses in some of Millais' illustrations. Here again, Tenniel portrays two quite different women: the frivolous Alice with her light-coloured, wavy hair, and Barbara, Mrs Tresdaile's serious-minded and sombrely-dressed companion (also the novel's narrator), whom he gives the same straight, dark hair as Bessy Calverton. There is even the hint of a devil-figure in Alice's friend and hostess, although not to the extent to detract from the essential realism of the design: this is the envious-looking and slightly older Emily Hollingston, who stands in profile at the half-open door, her hand held pensively up to her chin, her face half in shadow. In contrast to the three young women, Grandmother Tresdaile is masculine, stern and angular-looking, as Robinson's descriptions suggest. Marking a climax towards which the novelist has been working slowly and skilfully, the scene forms a most fitting subject for the novel's frontispiece and, if

read carefully, is a key to the characters of the four women depicted.

Tenniel's two Robinson designs can certainly claim equal stature with some of Millais' best illustrations, and this is some indication that his creative temperament was better suited to small commissions rather than to the backbreaking number of designs he had supplied for Brooks. It is unfortunate, then, that he made no further contributions to the 'Standard Library' series until 1869, when he was no longer at the peak of his powers as an illustrator of contemporary fiction. His frontispiece to Dinah Maria Mulock's A Noble Life [192a] is disappointing in its woodenness and over-compressed composition, suggesting either a loss of interest in book illustration itself, or perhaps a lack of inspiration in this particular novel. The design compares unfavourably, for example, with Millais' depiction of the widow, Jean Dowglas, for Mulock's set of short stories, Nothing New [192b] (1861).

Like Robinson, Mulock was a devout Christian of a fairly broad but evangelical kind, and her prose and verse alike reflect her belief in the guidance of the Bible and in the wise providence of God.[262] Like many novelists of her day, she also had strong human sympathies; as one critic, Louisa Parr, noted in 1897:

> That she lacked the fire of genius is true, but it is no less true that she was gifted with great imaginative ability and the power of depicting ordinary men and women leading upright, often noble lives.[263]

Parr makes an implicit reference here to Mulock's novel, another

echo of which can be heard in the funeral sermon preached by the Vicar of St Mary's, Shortlands, near Bromley in Kent, on Sunday 16 October 1887, a few days after Mulock's death:

> ... she left us the beautiful example of a noble and unselfish life. She sought to do good to all around her, and she possessed a wealth of tender sympathy that many of us remember with gratitude.[264]

A Noble Life was first published in 1866. Its central character is a seriously disabled child who is also orphaned, his father having drowned just before his birth and his mother dying soon after. Many of Mulock's novels contain such a character, whose disability is accepted as God's will and even seen as a form of spiritual blessing, while sick children are another preoccupation with her, as suggested by the title of a set of verses, A New Year's Gift to Sick Children (1865).[265] The hero of A Noble Life is blessed with an aura of peace and cheerful contentment in compensation for his disabilities; he is fortunate in a worldly sense too, for he is a member of the Scottish aristocracy, the Earl of Cairnforth, with a large estate and an income of twenty thousand pounds per year.

Entitled simply 'The Earl', Tenniel's frontispiece [192a] shows six figures meeting at a vestry door after Sunday morning service. The Earl has spent the first ten years of his life in Edinburgh, but has now returned to his Highland estate and is meeting his neighbours for the first time. His tired but human face is one of the successful elements of the design, as is the warm, friendly expression on the face of the widowed Reverend Alexander Cardross, who has just preached the sermon. Less

successful is the presence of two partially concealed figures who contribute nothing to the design, and whom Tenniel may have been obliged to include merely for the sake of accuracy with the text.

Cardross' fifteen-year-old daughter Helen has at first been repulsed by the sight of the Earl, but

> Then by a sudden impulse of conscience, quite forgetting the rank of the Earl, and only thinking of the poor, crippled, orphaned baby ... Helen did what her warm, loving heart was in the habit of doing, as silent consolation for everything, to her own tribe of "mitherless bairns" - she stooped forward and kissed him.[266]

Just as Mulock centres her stories upon human sympathy, Tenniel places as the focus of his design the girl's lips on the child's forehead, with the eyes of the other characters directed towards this central act of love and kindness.

Tenniel was in good company in his work for Hurst and Blackett, for some of the foremost artists of the day contributed to the 'Standard Library' series, and to Mulock's works in particular. Besides Nothing New, noted above, Millais contributed a frontispiece to John Halifax, Gentleman, the best-selling novel which established the novelist's reputation when it first appeared in 1856; Holman Hunt provided an excellent one to Studies from Life in 1862, and Frederick Sandys provided a less successful design to Christian's Mistake in 1866. A Noble Life was a relatively late novel, and less inspired than John Halifax; Parr notes that it was well received, and describes it as 'good honest work',[267] but complains that it falls short of Mulock's previous efforts:

> there is nothing which stirs our sympathies. Even the personal deformities of the unfortunate little earl

> fail to touch us, and, when grown up and invested with every meritorious attribute, he is more like the "example" of a moral tale than a being of human nature.[268]

This was perhaps one of the reasons why Tenniel's frontispiece is less successful than those he did for Robinson in 1861.

So, between 1858 and 1869, Tenniel had progressed from the still relatively theatrical style of his Gordian Knot designs towards a greater realism in the rather more domestic style of The Silver Cord. This experience served as a stepping stone to his excellent frontispieces to Grandmother's Money and No Church, which mark the culmination of his work in the field of contemporary realism. However, by the time he came to provide his frontispiece to A Noble Life, he seems to have lost an essential spark, so that this latter design is so ordinary in its everyday reality that it has little in it to interest the viewer. In the meantime, however, Tenniel had become successful as an illustrator in two rather different fields of literature.

NOTES TO PART III

Introduction

227. Sarzano, p.14.

228. Quoted in Ormond, George du Maurier, p.164.

229. Brooks wrote melodramas, burlettas and farces, including The Creole, or Love's Fetters, The Wigwam, Anything for a Change, Our New Governess, Honours and Tricks, Shave you Directly, The Magician, The Daughter of the Stars, The Guardian Angel, The Exposition, The Lowther Arcade, The Card Basket, and Pyramids, all performed in London at the Lyceum, the Olympic, the Strand and the Haymarket. Layard regards the plays as pot-boilers: such writing 'was clever, but it was not art.' (p.57)

230. Layard, p.63.

The Gordian Knot

231. Silver, Diary, 15 December 1858.

232. Bentley was not an easy man to get on with: Brooks became irritated by him, while George Cruikshank quarrelled with him and left the Miscellany in 1842 (Layard, p.33).

233. Booth, p.129.

234. Michael Steig, Dickens and Phiz, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978, p.127.

235. Steig, pp.127-8, 136.

236. Silver, Diary, 12 April 1865.

237. Silver, Diary, 28 June 1865: 'Shirley has the gout again. He certainly takes pains to get it.'

238. Morris, pp.203-47.

239. A hint of this is found in Brooks' Punch series 'The Naggletons', which concerns a bickering couple; this appeared in volume form in 1875, and later as a play.

240. Quoted in Layard, p.285.

241. A further sign of affection is Brooks' dedication of the volume edition of The Silver Cord to his wife.

242. These covers were a convenient means of advertising other Bentley publications, which included at this time the tenth thousand of Barham's Legends and the sixth thousand of

Brooks' Aspen Court.

243. Reid, p.27.

The Silver Cord

244. Layard, p.18.

245. Layard, p.176.

246. Layard p.171.

247. Quoted in Michael Slater, Dickens and Women (1986 ed.), London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1983, p.195.

248. The Illustrated Review (No. 35, Vol. III), 15 March 1872.

249. Silver quotes Brooks' statement: 'actors are not poor - and don't want to be pitied. They've less brains for their money than are found in other callings - and haven't to pay for education etc. etc. as a barrister or doctor has.' (Diary, 17 February 1864) Silver also records that: 'Shirley despises all actors - Tom [Taylor] doesn't.' (Diary, 22 February 1865)

250. Layard, p.176.

251. Quoted in Layard, p.177.

Hurst and Blackett

252. Robert Lee Wolff, Gains and Losses. Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England, London: John Murray, 1977, p.307; for the section on Robinson see pp.308-16. Robinson also wrote for a number of periodicals, and founded the magazine Home Chimes, which he edited from 1884 to 1893.

253. See Dictionary of National Biography Supplement, 1901-11.

254. These include Female Life in Prison, Owen, a Waif, Mattie, a Stray, Poor Humanity, Lazarus in London, and Poor Zeph.

255. Wolff, p.313.

256. No Church, London: Hurst & Blackett, New and Revised Edition, [n.d.], pp.173-4.

257. No Church, p.340.

258. No Church, p.211.

259. No Church, p.325.

260. No Church, p.338.

261. Grandmother's Money, London: Hurst & Blackett, 1862, p.109.

262. For biographical information, see Aleyn Lyell Reade, The Mellards & Their Descendants, London: Arden Press, 1915.

263. Louisa Parr, Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign, London: Hurst & Blackett, 1897, p.247.

264. Rev. Henry F. Wolley, "Think on these Things", London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.

265. A New Year's Gift to Sick Children, Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1865. Mulock carried her concern for the disabled into her own life: in 1865 she married George Lillie Craik, whom she had befriended and nursed after he had lost a leg in a railway accident.

266. A Noble Life, Tauchnitz ed., 1866, p.43.

267. Parr, p.239.

268. Parr, pp.241-2.

## IV ORIENTALISM

### Introduction

The phenomenon referred to here as Orientalism is a significant and independent strand of Romanticism. Just as the historical distance of the medieval period helped to capture the romantic imagination, so anything of an oriental nature relied upon an exotic geographical appeal, the occasional addition of historical distance creating a further dimension of remoteness and exciting unfamiliarity. Thus anything of an eastern nature, be it Moorish, Turkish, Hebrew, Persian, Indian, African, Chinese or Japanese, might be employed to add exotic spice and local colour to a piece of writing or a visual image.

Tenniel's own oriental work reflects this broad geographical canvas. His Punch designs and cartoons necessarily cover issues relating to the Near, Middle, and Far East, while the settings of his book illustrations can be traced from medieval Moorish Spain in his 'Gentle River' (1857) [70b] and 'Death of Aliatar' (1858) [73b] designs, to Old-Testament Israel for Byron's 'Destruction of Sennacherib' (1858) [82], through to his Indian and Arabian designs to Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh (1861) [115-20] and to the Dalziels' Arabian Nights' Entertainments (1863-65) [135-41].

As the existence of Tenniel's political cartoons suggests, the absorption of eastern styles and subjects into western art was taking place during an increasingly imperialistic and opportunistic age, when Europe was establishing and developing colonial and trading relationships with an ever-widening range of eastern countries. Edward Said has shown in his Orientalism

(1978) how the west at the same time appropriated, even created for itself, the cult and culture of the orient:

> The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.[269]

Thus 'the East' emerges as an exciting, mysterious and dangerous place, an alter ego for the western psyche, becoming, in its less acceptable form, a repository for such characteristics as sadomasochism and eroticism. Its connection with opium contributed to this: imported mainly from India and used for medicinal purposes, the drug gave rise to dreams, nightmares and hallucinations, and frequently led to overuse and addiction, as documented by Thomas De Quincey in his Confessions of an English Opium-Eater (1822); many nineteenth-century novelists and poets reflect, directly or indirectly, its imaginative dreamworld influence.

A more 'respectable' influence was the Bible, familiar in Tenniel's day to believers and non-believers alike; Old-Testament subjects were particularly popular, as testified by the poetry of Byron and Browning, and the paintings of William Dyce and William Holman Hunt. Another dominant influence was the Arabian Nights, whose introduction into Europe in Antoine Galland's early-eighteenth-century French translation provoked a boom in imaginative eastern literature. Samuel Johnson's Rasselas (1759) is a pre-romantic example of its influence, followed later by the poetry of Keats, Shelley, Coleridge and Byron, and by the oriental-gothic fiction of William Beckford's Vathek (1786) and

Charles Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer (1820). The atmosphere of fantasy and fear conjured up in these works was paralleled on the stage by eastern gothic melodrama [61c], popular between 1790 and the 1850s,[270] as well as by some of the traditional Christmas pantomime subjects.

As the nineteenth century progressed, oriental styles continued to be popular in all media of expression, reinforced by the travels of writers and artists. Especially notable are Edward Fitzgerald's translation from the Persian, the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám (first published in 1859), Richard Burton's versions of the Kama Sutra (1883) and The Perfumed Garden (1886), and Henry Rider Haggard's African novels of the 1880s. Arthur Sullivan's musical score to W.S. Gilbert's The Mikado (1885) is one example of how European composers were beginning to incorporate eastern elements into their music, while painters of oriental subjects made much of exotic colours lit by bright sunshine.

Lalla Rookh

For Tenniel, as for his contemporaries, the attractive styles and subjects of the east were inspiring. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of the varieties of eastern costume, architecture, equestrian trappings and so on, and his careful attention to such detail is evident in all his oriental work. His sixty-nine designs to Thomas Moore's epic poem, Lalla Rookh, in the Longman edition of 1861, represent his most sustained piece of work in the oriental field, and contain a wide range of images of what embodied for most Victorians the magical, exotic East: graceful,

bejewelled and barefooted women with long, flowing hair and undulating skirts, romantic heroes and strange villains in ornate costume, horses with richly decorated saddles and bridles, all against a backdrop of harems, tents and temples [115-20].

From its first appearance in 1817 Lalla Rookh inspired the romantic imaginations of artists, dramatists and composers alike with its heady combination of drama, poetry, romance, pathos, fantasy, horror and exoticism. Thomas Moore (1779-1852), already well known for his Irish Melodies (1807 onwards), began writing it in 1812; in 1814 John Murray offered him two thousand guineas for the publishing rights, only to be outbid by Longmans with an offer of three thousand pounds.[271] The work appeared in May 1817 and was an immediate best-seller, requiring a second edition within three days and a sixth by the end of the year.

The poem is a kind of miniature Arabian Nights in subject matter, setting and form. Its prose framework relates the journey of the princess Lalla Rookh from Delhi to Kashmir, where she is to marry the young King of Bucharia whom she has never met. In an inversion of the Scheherazade-Shahriar relationship a young poet, Feramorz, recites four verse tales to entertain her on the journey, and they fall in love. During the prose intervals Moore provides comic relief, while at the same time satirically anticipating his own critics, through the pompous court dignitary Fadladeen, who comments adversely upon the poet's literary style and choice of subjects. Ironically, Fadladeen reverses his opinion on arrival in Kashmir, where it is discovered that Lalla Rookh's future husband and Feramorz are the

same person. Both Maclise (1849) [123a] and Tenniel [115b] emphasise Fadladeen's plumpness, thus throwing his self-assumed role of critic of aesthetics into ridicule, while Browne (1860) further undermines the character by giving him a pair of Pickwickian spectacles.

Like many of the Nights themselves, Moore's four tales make oblique commentary on male-female relationships, three of them concerning ill-fated lovers. One of Tenniel's designs to 'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan' shows Zelica dying in her lover's arms on the battlefield after having deliberately run into his sword. (It was later reused, rather inappropriately, to represent the death of a Persian bride for 'A Tartar Foray' in Walter Thornbury's Historical and Legendary Ballads and Songs of 1876.) In 'The Fire-Worshippers' both lovers die, parted by conflicting cultures and religious beliefs, while in 'Paradise and the Peri' a couple die together of the plague. In all three, suicide plays a part, an act to which the female characters in particular are drawn. Only the final story, 'The Light of the Haram', concludes on an optimistic note, boding well for Lalla Rookh's arrival in Kashmir: a young girl who has quarrelled with her lover is reunited with him, assisted by a magic spell.

Longmans immediately recognised the poem's illustrative potential: in its very first year they brought out an octavo volume with title-page design and five illustrations by Richard Westall RA, engraved by Charles Heath,[272] and many more illustrated editions followed in Britain and America.[273] Like the Nights themselves, the self-contained tales of Lalla Rookh

were ideal for separate publication; this was particularly attractive to translators, who brought out versions in French, German, Polish, Finnish, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and even Persian. The poem's dramatic potential was exploited too, in 1822, when a spectacular musical staging took place before King Friedrich of Prussia at the Chateau Royal, Berlin; a commemorative book of the event was later produced, containing twenty-three coloured plates showing the characters in their costumes, the final plate opening out to the width of almost four quarto-sized pages to show a magnificent procession of the entire cast.[274]

The poem's publishing history is complex: in Britain alone there were a number of illustrated editions, several of them containing the work of leading artists. In 1851 Longmans published a volume containing thirteen steel-engraved illustrations by Kenny Meadows, Edward Corbould and F.P. Stephanoff;[275] this was reissued twice during the decade, and Tenniel would certainly have seen a copy. The poem gradually accumulated illustrations, rival editions often including some of the 1851 designs alongside newer work. Routledge, the most prolific publisher of illustrated literature during the period, launched an edition in 1860 containing just over forty illustrations; these included some of the Corbould and Meadows designs of 1851, with additional work by F.R. Pickersgill, G.H. Thomas, Myles Birket Foster, William Harvey, Hablot K. Browne, Thomas Macquoid and others;[276] it was reissued in 1868 with coloured designs by Thomas on the front cover, frontispiece

and title page.[277]

The appearance of the 1861 edition containing Tenniel's illustrations is an indication of the healthy state of the Lalla Rookh 'market', especially since it was an expensive giftbook costing five guineas;[278] by 1868 it was a little more affordable, selling for one guinea in cloth covers and two guineas in morocco,[279] but this must still be compared with Longmans' 1850s edition at fifteen shillings in cloth and twenty-eight shillings in morocco. A further indication of Moore's continuing popularity was the issue in 1867 by William Mackenzie of a comprehensive, serialised anthology of his poetry in twelve two-shilling parts; this contained over one hundred engravings,[280] with most of the twenty-five Lalla Rookh illustrations repeated from the earlier Longman and Routledge editions.

These publishers did not appear to mind the occasional inconsistencies of style that almost inevitably resulted from jointly-illustrated volumes: no doubt the commercial pull of top artists' names on a title page was stronger than the desire for aesthetic unity. The Longman edition of 1861 is rather different, however: not counting Thomas Sulman Junior's five arabesque colour plates, Tenniel had the entire book to himself; unity of design was consequently achieved, and reinforced in turn by the Dalziel Brothers who acted as engravers. George and Edward Dalziel looked back on their collaboration forty years later:

> One of [Tenniel's] most elaborate works was the set of illustrations to "Lalla Rookh." The drawings were all made on the wood with lead pencil, and were fine examples of his varied powers of design and delicate

> manipulation - such as gave us great pleasure in the rendering.[281]

The Lalla Rookh artists had varying success in the oriental medium. Westall is the least imaginative: Zelica's Regency-style white dress and stagey mannerisms make her look more like a Drury Lane actress, and there is no attempt at suggesting oriental facial features [121a]; similarly the Peris of Corbould (1851) [123b] and Pickersgill (1860) [125b] have a distinctly European appearance. Other artists, including Tenniel, are more successful. Maclise's Lalla Rookh (1849)[282] [123a] and Zelica (1833) [122] are particularly convincing: their dress is eastern in style, and their large eyes and long noses give them an exotic appearance; Fanny and Louisa Corbaux are equally effective in their Pearls of the East of 1837.[283] Meadows' Peri [124b] and Lalla Rookh [124a] of 1851 both have an attractive Jewish look, the latter being a tour de force in the use of decorative fabrics and jewellery. Tenniel himself shows careful observation of costume detail, while all his female characters have the long, wavy hair of the Pre-Raphaelite women, enlarged eyes, and a lengthened nose balanced by a tiny, rosebud mouth [115-6, 118-20].

The first tale, 'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan', concerns a villainous spiritual leader who deceives his followers into believing that his face is too radiant for them to look at. Zelica, who mistakenly believes her lover Azim to be dead, has become a member of the Prophet's harem where she serves in a spirit of sacred duty, and the scene in which she discovers that

her master is an ugly and evil man has been one of the most frequently illustrated of the entire poem. Just as Moore himself at this stage gives no description, Westall sets something of a trend for later artists in maintaining an aura of mystery over Mokanna's horrific features: by depicting the scene from the side he allows the veil to conceal what Zelica clearly sees [121a]. While Thomas (1860) [125a] gives a similar side view, Tenniel depicts Mokanna from behind, thus directing a stronger focus on Zelica herself, who is already on her knees in a semi-erotic, swooning pose [116a]. Westall, who depicts Zelica with her arms raised in a stereotypically melodramatic gesture, is not entirely successful with her facial expression, which shows surprise rather than fear. Thomas places Zelica's arms in such a way as to conceal her face altogether, but Tenniel more effectively tips her head right back, thus conveying her feelings through her dramatically contorted body and delicately expressive, curving fingers. The claustrophobic effects of the tentlike veil and surrounding walls of the kiosk combine to produce a striking if melodramatic scene, made all the more bizarre by its oriental trappings.

The Berlin audience of 1822 was clearly not ready to confront Mokanna in all his ugliness: the commemorative book of the performance shows his face, perfectly visible through a transparent veil, to be blandly inoffensive. (Similarly, little attention was paid to racial authenticity: all the 'Indians' have pink-and-white faces.) It was Maclise, ten years later, who was the first to present a full view of Mokanna's face, and when his

painting (now lost) was first exhibited in Liverpool in 1832 it caused a sensation.[284] His pencil sketch of 1833 [122] gives an indication of the 'maim'd and monstrous' features, while the use of oriental patterns emphasises the Prophet's sinister, threatening presence.

Mokanna later unveils to his followers, and Tenniel delays the revelation until this moment, thus rendering it all the more climactic [117b]. He may well have seen Maclise's painting, or a reproduction of it, for both artists' designs are examples of the grotesque, the horrific and the macabre rolled into one, by contrast with which Corbould's Mokanna (1851) is merely a naughty imp. Tenniel effectively captures the

> ... features horribler than Hell e'er trac'd
> On its own brood; - no Demon of the Waste,
> No church-yard Ghole, caught lingering in the light
> Of the blest sun, e'er blasted human sight
> With lineaments so foul, so fierce as those
> The' Impostor now, in grinning mockery, shows ...

The design's atmosphere is reinforced by the rich, dark shading, relieved by just enough illumination to highlight the Prophet's grinning, skeletal jaw and the contorted bodies of the followers whom he has just poisoned.

'Paradise and the Peri' is somewhat less horrific in content, and ends happily. A quest tale, it concerns a fallen angel who in order to enter heaven must find examples of patriotic love, unselfish human love and penitential love of God. The fulfilment of each of these tasks provides a clear scene for illustration: a dying warrior, a woman who chooses to die with her lover rather than leave him and save her own life, and a man

who recovers his faith when he sees an innocent child praying. Tenniel's warrior scene [118a] is compositionally reminiscent of Pickersgill's (1860) [125b], although the latter makes little effort to suggest an eastern flavour: his warrior is fair-haired and fair-skinned, while his respectably dressed angel is decidedly Christian in style compared with Tenniel's scantily-clad Peri. Indeed, the Peri herself has been portrayed differently even within the same edition: for example Meadows' coyly shameful Peri at Eden's gate is plump and adolescent-looking [124b] compared with Corbould's more fairylike figure [123b] (1851). Tenniel's own Peri [118a, c] is closest to Corbould's, while his conversion scene [118b] follows Corbould [123b] closely, particularly in the oriental-style tackle and docile head of the horse as it stoops to drink at the pool.

The 'heretical' religious sect of the third tale, 'The Fire-Worshippers', make a brief appearance in the Arabian Nights tale of Amgiad and Assad, discussed in the following section. Their leader Hafed, and Hinda, daughter of the Emir Al Hassan, have fallen in love, she not knowing at first that Hafed belongs to the Gheber sect whom her Moslem father has sworn to kill. Tenniel's depiction of the worshippers at their altar emphasises their pious nobility [119a], the skilful suggestion of firelight imparting an aura of sanctity to their devotions, despite the fact that they are swearing an oath of vengeance and self-destruction. An early climax is a fight at sea, during which the fainting Hinda is abducted by her lover's followers and wakes to find herself on board their ship; Tenniel [119b] follows Westall

[121b] in depicting this latter scene:

> Upon a galliot's deck she lies,
> Beneath no rich pavilion's shade, -
> No plumes to fan her sleeping eyes,
> Nor jasmine on her pillow laid.
> But the rude litter, roughly spread
> With war-cloaks, is her homely bed,
> And shawl and sash, on javelins hung,
> For awning o'er her head are flung.

Westall's Hinda, dressed in the traditional white of the western romantic heroine, has no awning: she sits in direct sunlight, her abductors in shadow as they lounge against the side of the ship or lie asleep on the deck. Tenniel is more logical in his lighting, and closer to the text: using the canopy to enclose his design, he depicts Hinda in more convincing dress, and places her in shadow as if to symbolise her fear and ignorance, while the men, in barely drawn outlines, are in bright sunshine.

Westall's title-page design depicts the fire-worshippers' smoking altar, set on a craggy rock high above a rough sea. This scene was popular with later artists, for it represents the final climax when Hafed avoids dishonourable death from the advancing enemy by throwing himself onto the fire, and when Hinda, seeing this from the boat in which she is escaping, throws herself into the sea. Corbould (1851) is one artist who depicts the suicides simultaneously, but the large number of illustrations at Tenniel's disposal were something of a disadvantage to him in this instance, for rather less dramatically he handles their deaths separately.

The fourth and final tale, 'The Light of the Haram', tells how Nourmahal, the heroine of the title, having quarrelled with

Selim, is reunited with him through a magic spell cast by the enchantress Namouna. Predictably, Westall's Nourmahal appears all in white, while Namouna is rather curiously depicted as a nun in black habit and white cowl; Tenniel dresses them both more realistically, although there is a suggestion of the nun (or more likely the witch) in Namouma's black veil [120]. There is a lack of dramatic tension in this tale: Moore is clearly striving for a note of resolution as Lalla Rookh approaches Kashmir; however, the lull it provides lays the way for the poem's denouement, in which Lalla Rookh discovers the true identity of her entertainer and the dramatic tension of her own situation is satisfactorily resolved, both for herself and for the reader.

Not many years after the 1861 edition, Moore's poem became a target for parody in a burlesque by Vincent Amcotts entitled Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Extravaganza, performed in 1868 with music selected from Jacques Offenbach's comic operettas.[285] Amcotts takes endless liberties, drawing together characters from the separate parts of the poem to create one continuous, farcical plot. Lalla Rookh and Feramorz are matched together as in the original work; Zelica's lost lover Azim becomes Fadladeen's son; he loves Nourmahal, cast here as Lalla Rookh's favourite attendant. The Veiled Prophet is transformed into a pantomime dame, The Widow Mokanna, who is finally united with Fadladeen in a neat Shakespearean dénouement. In the course of three acts the Widow, as Duenna, does her best to keep Nourmahal and Azim apart, the journey begins, couples disappear and reappear in noctural escapades, the three pairs of lovers are betrothed to everyone's

satisfaction, and the final chorus ends jubilantly with 'Tra-la-Lalla Rookh!'

Tenniel was soon following suit in Punch, in a by now familiar spirit of self-parody, suggesting that by the early 1870s his own designs to the poem must have been well enough known for him to adapt them to the cartoon medium. 'The Red "Mokanna"' (June 1871) [260b] depicts the dreaded French Commune terrorising a cowering female France against a background of Paris in smoke; based on the Prophet's unveiling to Zelica [116a], and with an explicitly direct quotation from Moore, it is a forceful suggestion that the French, seduced by communism, are quickly discovering its unpleasant realities:

> "Here - judge if hell, with all its power to damn,
> Can add one curse to the foul thing I am!"

'Paradise and the Peri' (February 1874) [269a] is lighter in mood. Disraeli, having won the General Election, is depicted, 'Majority' in hand, as the triumphant Peri at the moment her quest is fulfilled [118c]; the caption is again a direct quotation from Moore:

> Joy, joy for ever! My task is done -
> The gates are passed, and heaven is won!

There was continuing interest of a more serious nature, too, marked by a revival of Robert Schumann's cantata, Das Paradies und die Peri of 1843, at the Three Choirs Festival in Gloucester in 1877. This new surge of activity also included a 'Veiled Prophet' drama in Florence in 1874, an opera in Leipzig in 1877, and Frederick Clay's Lalla Rookh cantata at the Brighton Festival in the same year: its popular song 'I'll sing thee songs of

Araby' is still remembered today. In 1881 and 1893 Charles Villiers Stanford's three-act opera The Veiled Prophet was produced in Hanover and London respectively (it ends happily, with Zelica and Azim reunited), and in 1891 Stephen R. Philpot's two-act opera Zelica was performed at the Princes' Hall in Piccadilly with an orchestra and chorus of one hundred and sixty; it concludes with an angelic choir singing the triumphant verses from the end of 'Paradise and the Peri'. One last illustrated edition of Lalla Rookh appeared in 1901, with over one hundred designs contributed by twenty artists.[286]

In stark contrast with all this activity, Moore's verses are hardly read today, and consequently the many illustrations that accompanied them are little known. In their own day, however, Tenniel's Lalla Rookh designs were greeted with enthusiasm, The Times reviewing them as 'the greatest illustrative achievement by any single hand';[287] as noted previously (p.34), perhaps it was with that review in mind that the artist himself considered them to be his best work. While it must be admitted that such praise was almost as much for the poem itself as for Tenniel's accompanying illustrations, it cannot be denied that many of the latter are of high artistic merit. Their only flaw is, perhaps, as in the case of the two Brooks novels, an occasional lack of drama and sense of dilution stemming from the large number of designs required. This again supports the argument that Tenniel's best work was done in smaller commissions, and this is certainly true of his eight outstanding illustrations to the Dalziels' Arabian Nights.

## The Arabian Nights

The influence of the Arabian Nights on western culture cannot be overestimated. There are echoes as early as the fourteenth century in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, while an interaction with Aesop's Fables is indicated in such Nights titles as 'The Wolf and the Fox' and 'The Cat and the Crow'.

The Arabian Nights first appeared in Europe in Antoine Galland's French translation, in twelve volumes (1704-17); this in turn began to appear in English from 1706 onwards, reaching an eighteenth reprinting by the end of the century.[288] Since then, the romantic appeal of Scheherazade's tales has ensured their absorption into western culture, with imitations including the Rev. James Ridley's Tales of the Genii (1764) (a favourite of Dickens' in its later form of 1820, in the guise of a translation from the Persian by Sir Charles Morell), and James Morier's Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan (1824). The eighteenth century saw two or three 'Barber of Baghdad' operas, followed in the nineteenth by Peter Cornelius' comic Der Barbier von Bagdad (Weimar, 1858; New York, 1890; London, 1891), while the teller of the tales has herself been a central figure, notably in Maurice Ravel's Scheherazade overture (1898) and cycle of three songs (1903), and in Diaghilev's ballet of 1910, based in turn on Rimsky-Korsakov's symphonic suite (Op. 35, 1888). James Elroy Flecker's drama Hassan appeared in 1923 with incidental music by Frederick Delius, while the same decade saw a handful of Nights films. At the same time, as the pantomime developed on the British stage during the nineteenth century, popular Nights

characters such as Aladdin, Sindbad and Ali Baba were all chosen as subjects, Aladdin continuing in our own day to be one of the most frequently performed. In the face of all this activity, the relative rarity of paintings based on the tales is perhaps all the more surprising, although this is to a large extent compensated for by a large number of book illustrations.

Editions of the Nights, of which there were many in the eighteenth century, multiplied throughout the nineteenth; they included a number of English translations direct from the Arabic, the foremost being those by Edward Forster (1802), Jonathan Scott (1811), Henry Torrens (1838), Edward Lane (1839-41), John Payne (1882-84) and Richard Burton (1885-88). Many nineteenth-century editions were published with a handful or more of designs, one of the most notable being the five-volume Forster translation of 1802 (reprinted 1810 and 1839) with twenty-four steel-engraved plates after paintings by Robert Smirke RA.[289] At the popular end of the market an illustrated Pictorial Penny Arabian Nights' Entertainments appeared in 1845 in fourpence-halfpenny parts,[290] followed by Willoughby's Illustrated Standard Edition in one-shilling parts (1852-54), which contained over six hundred engravings by French artists;[291] both go one better than Scheherazade herself by ending each issue tantalisingly in mid-sentence. There were children's editions too, so that few Victorians of the leisured middle and upper classes would have grown up without becoming familiar with at least some of them. They were of particular significance to Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, George Meredith, Elizabeth Gaskell, Wilkie Collins, the

Brontës, R.L. Stevenson and Henry James; indeed, countless writers from the early eighteenth century to the present day have found in the Nights 'a pool of images and allusions and a compendium of narrative techniques'.[292]

The Nights' fragmentary structure ideally suited them to the Victorian practice of serialisation. Tenniel's own designs, eight in number, appeared in the Dalziel Brothers' serialised Arabian Nights' Entertainments (1863-65), one of the best illustrated editions of the nineteenth century. Eight artists were involved, Tenniel's co-illustrators being J.E. Millais, J.D. Watson, G.J. Pinwell, T. Morten, Edward and Thomas Dalziel, and Arthur Boyd Houghton, the latter two providing most of the designs. Costing one penny per weekly part, or sixpence per month, the edition was aimed at the popular market; each part consisted of eight pages and contained two engravings. A quarto-sized volume edition followed in 1865, as well as an identical German edition,[293] containing over two hundred full-page, half-page and one-third-page designs, with decorative, oriental borders throughout, and bound in red or blue with gold arabesque designs.

The Dalziels themselves had been engravers for the Lane translation of 1839-41, whose numerous designs by William Harvey display a high level of integration with the text [143a]; Harvey's name was practically synonymous at the time with the Arabian Nights, and this edition was frequently reissued. But by the time their own edition began to appear in 1863 the Dalziels were not confining themselves merely to engraving: as we have

seen, publishers had over the years entrusted them with the selection not only of subjects but also of the artists to depict them, and in 1857 they had set up their own printing firm, the Camden Press. Then, in 1863, they decided to extend their longstanding business relationship with the house of Ward & Lock:

> In that year we entered into a contract with them to produce a series of popular standard works, fully illustrated, to be under the able editorship of Dr. H.W. Dulcken, and to be published with the general title of "Dalziel's Illustrated Edition." We were to share equally in the cost of production, and participate equally in the profits, if there were any.[294]

The Arabian Nights was chosen to launch the venture, in a new adaptation from Galland by Dulcken, 'a dear old friend' of theirs.[295] Sadly, the text did not equal the quality of the illustrations: Forrest Reid calls it a 'very mediocre translation ... which contrives to omit all the life, all the poetry, and all the humour of the original',[296] while a more recent writer, Brian Alderson, describes it as 'hopelessly pedestrian'.[297] It was probably for this reason, rather than for any aesthetic or commercial one, that the book sold badly, despite a good critical reception. A second serialisation, The Works of Oliver Goldsmith, with Pinwell's illustrations, went ahead in 1865 but again, despite critical acclaim, the public did not buy, a loss was made and no further serialisations were attempted.[298] It was not as if the market for illustrated Nights was in decline, however, for many more editions appeared before the end of the century,[299] sixteen of the Houghton and Thomas Dalziel designs from the Dalziel edition reappeared as plates in a Frederick

Warne volume of 1866,[300] and Tenniel's 'The Sleeping Genie and the Lady' formed the frontispiece to a Ward Lock edition in 1889.[301]

Tenniel's attraction towards oriental subjects, as well as his longstanding and amicable working relationship with the Dalziels, can be glimpsed in the engravers' somewhat self-congratulatory recollection of how, in the midst of his work on Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, he was able to fit in the occasional design for them:

> So much was Tenniel engaged at this time that we always regarded his undertaking the pictures ... for our "Arabian Nights," as an act of kindness to ourselves.[302]

It was they who had engraved his sixty-nine Lalla Rookh illustrations two years earlier, and the enormous popularity of that volume was a sure indication that Tenniel's name would help sell their Arabian Nights. Indeed, what was diffused throughout Tenniel's 1861 designs is highly concentrated here in his eight expansively drawn and impressive illustrations. His authentic detail is as meticulous as ever as he exploits to the full the stereotypical eastern elements of fantasy, magnificence, exoticism, opulence, ornamentation, strangeness, grotesqueness, anthropomorphism, terror and obsession, while in his often humorous juxtaposition of the ordinary with the extraordinary he reminds the viewer of the ever-present frailty of human nature.

The consistent excellence of Tenniel's eight designs has no doubt much to do with the relatively leisurely conditions of serialisation, since his own contributions were fairly widely

spaced across the publication period. He was given the honour of inaugurating the entire series with his design to the frame tale, 'The Sleeping Genie and the Lady' [135]; part thirty-one contains his two illustrations to 'The Tale of the Barber's Fifth Brother' [136]; parts forty-five to forty-seven inclusive contain three to 'The Tale of Amgiad and Assad' [137-9]; and finally, part eighty-four contains two to 'The Tale of Sidi Nouman' [140-1].

Just from this selection of four tales it is evident how relationships between men and women are central to the Nights. The first concerns a licentious woman who, not satisfied by the lustful genie who keeps her locked up in a glass case, beckons to Schahriar and his brother while her captor sleeps, and threatens them with death when they show reluctance. As Michael Slater has shown, this episode held a particular charm for Dickens, who recalls its childlike appeal, necessarily minus its erotic content, in his Household Words essay 'A Christmas Tree' (December 1850). Dickens could be remembering one of the tale's early illustrations in his vivid description:

> Down upon the grass, at the tree's foot, lies the full length of a coal-black Giant, stretched asleep, with his head in a lady's lap; and near them is a glass box, fastened with four locks of shining steel, in which he keeps the lady prisoner when he is awake. I see the four keys at his girdle now. The lady makes signs to the two kings in the tree, who softly descend. It is the setting-in of the bright Arabian Nights.[303]

Several illustrations to the tale existed by 1850, for it was a popular subject with artists - when, that is, it was not omitted altogether for prudish reasons. Dickens may well have seen Smirke's design [142a], although neither the locks nor the keys

are visible, nor is the genie particularly dark-skinned.

Tenniel's own design [135] seems to owe something to his Peri and warrior illustration from Lalla Rookh [118a], for the dark-skinned genie lies on the ground with his knees up in a very similar pose to that of the dead warrior, and the only real difference is in the angle of viewpoint. The design is praised by Percy Muir as a 'very powerful drawing' and one 'that would have made the reputation of a lesser man'.[304] Indeed, the genie himself is magnificently sub-human with his taloned feet and grotesque head, while Tenniel's innovative use of perspective plays cleverly upon the relative sizes of the lady and her captor, the latter's positioning in the foreground creating a frisson of horror in the viewer; furthermore, the absence of the two kings from the design ensures that one's attention is not diverted from the focal point. This illustration seems to have influenced S.J. Groves' smaller design of 1865[305] in such details as the lady's clothing and jewellery, the bunch of keys and the two distinctive types of background foliage [142b]; by contrast, Gustave Doré's magnificent full-page design in a rival edition of 1874[306] is quite different: integrated with a square of text, it shows a complete landscape with the kings' tree end-stopping the right-hand edge of the page.

The character of Alnaschar epitomises the dangers of an overactive imagination: during an extended daydream in which he has married the Grand Vizier's daughter (ironically, since he himself is anything but far-sighted) and is maltreating both her and her mother, Alnaschar ruins his livelihood by kicking over

his precious stock of glassware. A vivid episode, this too has been frequently illustrated, most designs showing a basket or bowl of shattered glass lying upside-down on the floor, while the tailor who works next door looks through a side-window and laughs. Smirke's 'Alnaschar's Vision' is notable for the disdainful expression on the protagonist's face and for the imperious gesture he makes with his raised left arm, both echoed by Harvey [143b]. Thomas Dalziel in a Routledge edition of 1877[307] similarly captures the disaster as it happens, with a tray overbalancing into the street [145b], while the Willoughby edition contains three illustrations by Levilly, culminating in the approach of a rich, benevolent lady who compensates Alnaschar for his loss [144a]. Tenniel's design depicts the aftermath of the event: the rich lady is just visible in the upper right-hand corner, while her purse-bearing eunuch holds centre-stage [136a]; the richness of shading gives an effect of bright sunlight and cool shadow, while the shortened perspective and crowded right-hand section serve to reinforce Alnaschar's sense of shame. The influence both of Tenniel and Levilly can be sensed in Stanley L. Wood's 'Alnaschar's Disaster' [146a] of 1890.[308] Tenniel's second design [136b] shows how the rich lady's generosity is later counteracted by a deceitful woman who sends the gullible Alnaschar away to obtain help in removing coffers of treasure, and in his absence removes them herself.

The impetus for the lengthy tale of Amgiad and Assad comes from the lies of two women: when the two princes repulse their stepmothers' advances, Queen Badoura and Queen Haiatalnefous

accuse them of trying to seduce them, and King Camaralzaman sends his sons away to be executed. Having escaped, they undergo separate adventures. As Tenniel depicts in 'Prince Assad and the Worshippers of Fire' [137], Assad is captured by the fire-worshippers as their yearly sacrificial Moslem; he shows a smoking altar similar to that in his Lalla Rookh design [119a], but here the sect appear in a less sympathetic light: not young, noble and pious in the face of persecution, but elderly, fanatical and brutal. Again, Wood was clearly influenced by Tenniel in his 1890 design [146b]. Tenniel's second design depicts Amgiad's involvement with a wicked lady whom he eventually has to kill [138]. His third, 'Prince Amgiad conducts Prince Assad to the Palace' [139], depicts the brothers' reunion, and is notable for the semi-human expressions of the horses. The brothers are soon reunited with their father, who has since learned of their innocence; Assad marries the devout Mahometan Queen Margiana who protected him from the fire-worshippers, while his brother marries Bostama, a converted daughter of one of the heretics.

Tenniel's final two designs concern Sidi Nouman, whose witch-wife Amina prefers graveyard feasts to more homely dinners; Smirke shows her by moonlight gloating with her ghoul-lover over a corpse, while Dickens writes in his 'Christmas Tree' essay:

> All rice recalls the rice which the awful lady, who was a ghoule, could only peck by grains, because of her nightly feasts in the burial-place.[309]

When Sidi Nouman accuses her of unnatural practices, Amina turns him into a dog [140]; as in some of his cartoons, Tenniel's

virago has the distinctively loose, wavy hair of the wicked woman, while at the same time, as Caracciolo notes, she echoes 'the terrible frown and gesture of Wonderland's Queen'[310] [173c]. Eventually a good witch restores Sidi Nouman to human shape and helps him turn his wife into a horse; Tenniel neatly conveys Amina's consternation by means of a balefully staring eye [141] to contrast with the angry stare of the earlier design, while he turns her hair into a somewhat sparse, but still wavy, mane. Wood echoes both designs, and in addition shows Sidi Nouman riding and whipping his mare [146c-d].

As in the case of Lalla Rookh, the Arabian Nights were fair game for parody. Tenniel's design to 'The Adventures of Prince Lulu' [132b], itself a Nights spoof in Once A Week, 1862, anticipates in the costume of the scornful Princess Lolah that of the wicked ladies in both the Alnaschar and Amgiad designs [136b, 138]. To illustrate a later parody, which appeared in the Punch Pocket Book of 1876, Tenniel makes a direct reference to his 'Sleeping Genie' illustration [135] by depicting two little men overpowering the genie by sitting on his face. Some of Tenniel's Punch cartoons also make use of familiar motifs and characters: his stereotyped Arabs with their long, hooked noses and sly expressions seem to come straight out of the popular Nights pantomimes, and their interchangeability with Jews is borne out in the portrayal of Disraeli as a pantomime magician in '"New Crowns for Old Ones!"' (April 1876) [273a]. Depicted here offering the imperial crown to Queen Victoria, he bears a strong resemblance in profile and pose to Tenniel's Alnaschar [136b],

from his hunched-up shoulders right down to the positioning of his feet, while Victoria is, ironically, quite the opposite of the deceitful lady. Some years later, when Gladstone visited an electrical exhibition at the Crystal Palace, he was given Disraeli's former role in '"New Lights for Old Ones!"' (April 1882) [284b]: here, carrying a box of tricks labelled 'Majority', he holds up a light bulb to represent his new parliamentary 'clôture' procedure.[311]

In our own century the Nights' popularity has continued, especially in the form of children's literature, while for the adult market there have been some excellent illustrated volumes, most notably in de.luxe, limited editions such as Laurence Housman's Stories.from.the.Arabian.Nights (1907, reissued 1932) with designs by Edmund Dulac [147b].[312] But out of all the designs seen, those of Tenniel and his co-illustrators remain some of the most memorable, artistically pleasing, and immediate in their impact. Perhaps if some enterprising publisher were to reissue the Dalziels' Nights engravings alongside a livelier translation, then these designs might reach a belatedly wider audience than they did in the mid-1860s - especially since, while Lalla.Rookh is perhaps beyond revival, the Arabian.Nights live on in the popular imagination.

Art and.Imperialism

While eastern imaginative literature was embraced wholeheartedly by many, a significant number of Tenniel's political cartoons indicate that the contemporary reality was unwelcome, and kept at arm's length. The east and its inhabitants seem to have been

regarded by the conservatively-minded Victorians, including the staff of Punch, with a fluctuating mixture of patronising superiority, ridicule, incomprehension, distrust and hostility.

In times of peace the portrayal of the east might take a purely comic form, as in the early work of Doyle and Cruikshank, the latter on such occasions renaming himself Cru-shanki in line with his oriental pastiches. Tenniel followed in this tradition, producing some Hokusai imitations for the Pocket Book of 1863. However, as noted in the Introduction (pp.27-8), if foreign relations became strained, or escalated into war, Tenniel adapted his oriental imagery accordingly, presenting an array of hook-nosed Arabs and Jews, thick-lipped Africans, and slant-eyed, high-cheekboned Chinese, the exaggeration of whose physical characteristics is hardly refined or subtle. Similarly, he carefully adapted his national animal symbolism to political requirements: he might represent a country as a purring, domesticated cat or a snarling tiger or hyena, a docile or a vengeful lion, a harmless turkey or a ravenous vulture, a greedy alligator with open jaws or a defeated one shuffling along on crutches, an ugly mythical dragon, a foolish donkey, or an obedient elephant.

Mr Punch himself, despite his radical beginnings, came to be more of a conservative reactionary than an enlightened liberal in his comically arrogant, imperialistic attitude: indeed, the very circulation of the magazine reflected the extent of the British Empire, for copies were sold wherever there were English-speaking people to read them, and that of course included British colonies

all over the world. Tenniel often suggests a sense of Mr Punch's imperialistic-journalistic power and influence, portraying him on title pages riding four circus-horses labelled Europe, Asia, Africa and America (Vol. 22, 1852; Vol. 85, 1883), as a self-satisfied sultan in a large turban, being garlanded with flowers by Indian dancers (Vol. 69, 1875) [271b], or as an elephant-riding explorer bringing the British flag to Uganda, surrounded by grinning and dancing natives (Vol. 103, 1892). However, the responsibilities of imperialism are sometimes recognised as a burden: in 'Left Luggage' (August 1876) and 'By the First Train' (January 1885) Mr Punch appears in humbler guise, as a railway porter, the troublesome luggage left in his care representing such countries as India, South Africa and Egypt.

Closest to home, and highly topical, was the 1850s debate on the admission into Parliament of Jews whose consciences did not allow them to take the standard Christian oath of allegiance. Punch was backward-looking and suspicious in this matter, and characterised Jews as unpleasant Shylocks wanting their pound of flesh and being repulsed by the legal system. One of Tenniel's Shakespeare spoofs of 1856 [221b] doubles as a political cartoon, showing a typically Victorian Shylock suing for admission, with Mr Punch himself smiling complacently from the Speaker's Chair. Despite such adverse commentary, the Jewish Disabilities Act became law in 1858.

Tenniel made frequent use of the Shylock image over the years: another character who is not allowed his way is the distinctly Jewish-looking devil figure in his 'Brothers of

Birchington' illustration of 1864 [165a]. Shylock was also one of the handful of subjects Tenniel completed in 1878 for an edition of Shakespeare which was never published, and this drawing [203] is echoed in his cartoon 'The Turkish Shylock' (May 1897) [310b]. This switch from Jew to Turk is paradoxical but understandable, bearing in mind the stereotypical hooked nose and subservient expression; interestingly, Edward Said has recognised the same process taking place more recently:

> ... after the 1973 war ... [c]artoons depicting an Arab sheik standing behind a gasoline pump turned up consistently. These Arabs, however, were clearly "Semitic": their sharply hooked noses, the evil mustachioed leer on their faces, were obvious reminders ... that "Semites" were at the bottom of all "our" troubles ... The transference of a popular anti-Semitic animus from a Jewish to an Arab target was made smoothly, since the figure was essentially the same.[313]

This is clear evidence of the persistency of a stereotype which Tenniel was influential in perpetuating.[314]

The most prominent Jewish politician of the century was Benjamin Disraeli. Since he had been baptised into the Christian faith in his youth, there had been no barrier to his taking his seat on his election in 1837: he is just visible on the right of Tenniel's 1856 Merchant of Venice design. However, thanks to Disraeli's Jewish ancestry and generally un-English appearance, he came to embody in the public mind, with Punch's assistance, the mysteriousness and trickery of the east, so that in the many cartoons that feature him he is given both Hebrew and other eastern roles. He appears, for example, as Dickens' notorious Jewish gangleader in 'Fagin's Political School' (November 1867), which satirises his seeming appropriation of Lord John Russell's

reform policy. Other trickster roles include that of an escapologist in '"The Mysterious Cabinet Trick"' (February 1878) [276b], and of a wicked, Aladdin-style merchant in '"New Crowns for Old Ones!"' (April 1876) [273a], while in the guise of a gipsy fortune-teller at the races in 'The Derby Lunch!!' (May 1880) he offers the Liberal Party a glimpse of the future.[315]

Disraeli's Turkish bias in spite of that country's aggression towards Bulgaria is neatly represented in '"Woodman, spare that tree!"' (May 1877), in which he begs Gladstone not to fell the tree of despotic Turkish rule since he loves its 'Asian mystery'. Most humorous of all, though, is his affinity with the Egyptian Sphinx in '"Mose in Egitto!!!"' (December 1875) [272a], a comment on his well-timed Suez Canal share purchase, while his politician's avoidance of making concrete statements is satirised in 'The Sphinx is Silent' (July 1876) [274a], for which Tenniel transforms him into the inscrutable sphinx itself.[316]

As the 'Woodman' cartoon suggests, the sympathies of Punch rarely lay with Turkey. The championship of Greece against Turkey has already been noted (pp.188-9) in Tenniel's 'Mark Bozzari' [129] (Once A Week, 1861), and this is echoed much later in his cartoon 'Against the Grain' (February 1897), which pictures John Bull admiring a 'plucky little Greek chap' for standing up to a somewhat larger Turk. For purposes of general, everyday satire, Tenniel represents Turkey as a harmless bird in a fez, in one cartoon, '"Beati Possidentes!!"' (March 1878), grasped tightly by the Bismarck Bear. Alternatively, comic, round-faced and round-eyed Turkish men appear smoking hookahs, as

in 'Stamboul St. Stephen's' (March 1877) [275a], a spoof on an eastern-style parliament.[317] However, when criticism arose over atrocities in Armenia, Tenniel chose for 'Disturbed!' (March 1895) the more appropriate image of a murderous hyena slinking away from the scene, while in an earlier cartoon, 'The Status Quo' (September 1876) [274b], he had dispensed with symbolism altogether: against the background of a gruesome post-massacre scene Britannia refuses to acknowledge Turkey while his hands are stained with the blood of his Bulgarian victims.

There is a similar fluctuation in Tenniel's portrayal of Arabs. Some of his Punch designs of 1852 show them in a comic, theatrical light, such as the Astley's Theatre 'Lament' [216], and two excellent decorative initials, one of a black tyrant in a huge round turban [209d], the other of a sedate, white-bearded arab larger than the horse he is riding [210a]; similarly, one appears as a comic pantomime figure [225c] in the 1864 Pocket Book. However, in political terms Arabs were habitually regarded with suspicion: as noted previously (p.209), Tenniel's 1864 illustration to Barham's Holy Land massacre [158a] is set within the context of western aggression towards the east; similarly, and more subtly, his rider and camel designs [186] to W.H. Miller's The Mirage of Life (1867) reflect the way his author employs the symbolism of desert aridity and illusory oases to support his puritanical Christian arguments.

Arabia became a close reality in 1873 when the Shah of Persia, Nasr-Ed-Din, made a spectacular visit to London, provoking a variety of reactions ranging from irritable hostility

at one extreme to blind, uncritical adulation at the other. Punch made a point of not appearing to be impressed by the visit; after the fairly good-natured 'Feline Friends; or, the British Lion and the Persian "Chat!"' (June 1873), representing Persia as a purring, white cat nuzzling a friendly lion, came '"More Cry than Wool"' (June 1873), which contrasts the enormous expenditure on a ball at the Guildhall in honour of the Shah with the much smaller sum collected for a hospital charity.

Less politically problematic was the romantic appeal which Ancient Egypt held for the Victorians, fuelled by the transportation of statues and other artefacts to Britain by the Egyptologists. Tenniel was a frequent visitor to the British Museum where many of these were on show, and his familiarity with the Egyptian linear style is reflected in his Punch illustration, 'Grand Demonstration of Public Feeling in the British Museum' (Vol. 23, 1852), followed by his two magnificent statues and smaller figures in the cartoon 'A Reverie at the Crystal Palace' (June 1854) [231]. His Antony and Cleopatra design (October 1855) [220a] is interesting too in this respect, since it contains a suggestion of an ancient wall painting in the two-dimensional quality of the figures on the far left. Frederick Sandys' illustration to Algernon Swinburne's 'Cleopatra' [84b] (Cornhill Magazine, Vol. 14, 1866), while very different from Tenniel's simple line drawing, shows a similar use of background figures.

Besides their evident decorative qualities, the trappings of Egyptology also provided Tenniel with political imagery, as

indicated by the Disraeli sphinx cartoons cited above. Thus, a satire on protection and free trade, 'Trying it on: or, Reviving the Mummy' (September 1881), is a comically gruesome cartoon in gothic-horror tradition in which a winking mummy is revived by electric shock treatment. Similarly, 'Nurse Gladstone' (August 1883) shows a possessive Premier unwilling to relinquish his baby Egypt, which, like a mummy, is tightly bound. A subject of enormous interest during the nineteenth century is reflected in the delightful cartoon 'Britannia Discovering the Source of the Nile' (June 1863) [239a]; here is Mr Nilus, a surprised old man with a water jar under his elbow, smoking the long churchwarden pipe of which Tenniel himself was fond. Finally, the image of Cleopatra returns as a compliment to Queen Victoria in 'A Jubilee Pageant' (1887 Almanack), which shows her in an Egyptian-style barge with an imperial entourage of colonial musicians and others.[318]

While Sandys' 'Cleopatra' illustration can be admired for its decorative use of oriental textures and designs, it also serves as a reminder of the proximity of Egypt to Africa, and of the fact that African slaves were not a recent western invention. Whereas Britain had abolished slavery in 1833, other colonial powers had not; an early comment on the subject is Tenniel's 'The Virginian Slave, intended as a companion to Power's '"Greek Slave"' (Vol. 20, 1851), depicting a black woman in chains above the ironic motto 'E Pluribus Unum'. Tenniel was equally capable, however, of depicting a black slave in a comic way, as his 'Adventures of Prince Lulu' design of 1862 shows [132b]; indeed,

Punch's own attitude was an ambivalent one, to the extent that it sided with the South during the American Civil War, a position which again involved a patronisingly comic treatment of the negro. The War safely over, Tenniel was able to revert to cartoons like 'The "Flag of Freedom"' (October 1875): making the emotional point that the British flag flying from the mast is the symbol of freedom, this is a spirited reaction to an Admiralty Circular ordering the capture of runaway slaves discovered on board ship.[319]

As in the case of other races, Tenniel frequently emphasises the physical characteristics of negroes. His 1868 Almanack design 'Amateur Theatricals. An Othello "Break-Down"' [227] is pure burlesque, but 'The Abyssinian Question' (August 1867) [247a] is quite different: King Theodore had been holding European prisoners since 1864 because of the accidental non-acknowledgement of a letter he had written to Queen Victoria, and Tenniel thus portrays him as an exaggeratedly ugly tyrant with high cheekbones and thick lips, his only affinity with the comic Othello being his curved sword. An even more extreme example, in keeping with the sensational nature of the short story which it accompanies, is the grotesquely horrific figure in 'The Negro's Revenge' (Once A Week, 1860) [108a], a frightening scene in which a negro with bared teeth and staring eyes is about to throw a bound and gagged white man into the sea.

During the final forty years of the century the European drive to colonise parts of Africa accelerated; for some this was justified on supposedly religious, evangelical grounds, but for

many the exercise was a purely commercial one. The sometimes irresponsible nature of this spirit of free enterprise is criticised in '"Bung" in Africa' (September 1895), in which the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, tries to persuade the reluctant King of Bechuanaland to allow the sale of alcohol in his country.

This imperial and commercial activity led to one conflict after another, most noticeably with the West African Ashanti tribe and with the South African Zulus. 'A Friend in Need' (October 1873) [267a] pictures an intimidating Ashanti warrior confronting Gladstone and Bright, while 'A Lesson' (March 1879), in which John Bull watches a Zulu warrior write on a blackboard the words 'Despise not your enemy', satirises Britain's assumption of superiority; later the same year Bull is left wondering in 'A Black "White Elephant"' (September 1879) what to do with the captured Zulu King Cetewayo. Some years later Bull is perplexed again when he is offered Uganda, 'The White Elephant' (October 1892), by its present owner, the East Africa Company, who 'cannot manage him', while a less tangible indication of fin-de-siècle uneasiness over complex imperial responsibilities is found in 'The Black Shadow' (November 1893), in which an unwelcome negro outline cast upon the wall disturbs Nurse Gladstone's peaceful nursery of domestic legislation.[320] However, Britain's determination to lay claim to African territory in the face of German and French competition is emphatically portrayed, respectively, in '"Not such a fool as he looks!"' (May 1890), in which the British Lion keeps a firm hold

on a map of Africa, and in 'Plain English' (March 1898), in which John Bull challenges an 'explorer'.

Britain's colonial exploitation of India was, of course, of much longer standing; the Mutiny of 1857 marked the backlash, as well as something of a turning-point, in complacent British attitudes. Four years before the crisis Tenniel was satirising British incompetence in India in a lighthearted way, through the plump and ineffectual huntsman, Peter Piper. This brief series opens with 'How Mr. Peter Piper enjoyed a Day's "Pig-Sticking" near Burhampoor, Bengal' (Vol. 24, 1853) [218], followed later by 'How Mr. Peter Piper accepted an invitation from the Rajah of Rhubburdubdub to hunt a "Royal Bengal Tiger"'. Tenniel's celebrated response to the Mutiny, 'The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger' (August 1857) [233b], replaces the intrepid Piper with a ferocious lion, while the tiger, endearingly humanised in the earlier design, receives a somewhat more realistic treatment; animal symbolism having done its work, the more explicit 'Justice' (September 1857) [234a] followed. Tenniel drew the 'Bengal Tiger' cartoon at Shirley Brooks' suggestion,[321] and it is therefore more than coincidental that 'The Ayah and Her Charge' [95], his second illustration to Brooks' The Gordian Knot (1858-59), whose Indian background provides an exotic ambience to an English domestic story (see p.239), pictures a savage tiger breaking out of its cage.

Twenty years after the Mutiny, 'Our "Imperial" Guard' (May 1878) is an ambivalent comment on the recruitment of Indian soldiers to fight alongside the British army in Africa: while

Disraeli is all in favour, Britannia has her doubts. Twenty years further on, the loyalty of Indian troops is celebrated in '"Brothers in Arms"' (September 1897), which shows a noble Indian officer standing guard over an injured and fallen British officer in the Sudan.[322] But the memory of the Mutiny did not fade, as hinted at in 'On the Prowl' (December 1896) and 'Unrest. 1857-1897' (July 1897).

There were commercial conflicts too, as the punningly-titled '"A Divided Duty"' (January 1895) suggests. Here John Bull tries to pacify an Indian woman and a Lancashire woman who argue over the excise duty on cotton (which was eventually abolished in 1926); Bull's rather lame statement that he is responsible for both of them is just one further indication of the enormous and complex burden of imperialism at home and abroad. One particular drain on Britain's resources was widespread poverty in India, exacerbated by regular famines and plagues: Tenniel's numerous cartoons picturing starving families must have been effective in stirring reluctant colonial consciences.[323]

Set against all of this was Victoria's controversial accession as Empress of India at Disraeli's instigation, Tenniel's '"New Crowns for Old Ones!"' (April 1876) [273a] being a fair indication of public opinion.[324] While the Prince of Wales' visit to India between 1875 and 1876 gave rise to an optimistic portrayal of the relationship between the two countries,[325] at the other extreme an analogy was drawn in '"Disputed Empire!"' (September 1877) between the grandeur of the Queen's new title and physical realities for her starving Indian

subjects. Finally, however, Tenniel's double-page 'Ave! Victoria, Regina et Imperatrix!' (May 1899), picturing the enthroned monarch saluted by all her subjects, contrived to end the century on a confident note.

Unlike India, China was not subject to British rule, and made relations difficult by holding aloof from trading negotiations. Thus, for the majority of the century, China was something of an unknown quantity to the west, and it was partly this remoteness, together with stories of oriental barbarity, that accounts for the particularly xenophobic nature of its portrayal in Punch. The constant power struggle between east and west resulted in various wars, conventions and treaties, until a relationship of open commerce and diplomatic equality was at last established in 1894. Thus, many of Tenniel's cartoons depict what John Ruskin called 'our missionary manner of compelling free trade at the point of the bayonet'.[326]

Again, Tenniel's earlier designs are relatively innocuous. His illustration to 'The Ballad of Sir T. Tea-Leaf' (Vol. 21, 1851) doubles as a miniature political cartoon on the poisonous adulteration of tea [215b], a practice also satirised in his oriental-grotesque initial T of the same year [206d]; in another initial (Vol. 25, 1853) he imaginatively combines two oriental stereotypes: the pigtail and the teapot [210b]. However, the war of 1860 gave rise to harsher imagery, with China portrayed as a calibanic, stupid-looking dragon in 'What We Ought to Do in China' (December 1860) [237a], and when the war ended with the capture of Peking a more human, but still ugly, scowling oriental

was pictured in 'The Real Barbarian from China' (January 1861) [237b], kneeling in unwilling submission before Britannia. The dragon imagery recurs in such later cartoons as 'Family Ties' (October 1891) [301a] and '"Good Dog!"' (October 1895) [308b] while, as in the case of Greece and Turkey, Punch demonstrated its partisanship most eloquently in 'Jap the Giant-Killer' (September 1894) [306b], the more westernised and therefore acceptable Japan having defeated China in the war over Korea.[327] Such portrayals were occasionally balanced by a healthy element of imperial self-criticism in cartoons like 'Jeddo and Belfast; or, a Puzzle for Japan' (August 1872), and 'Wanting to Know' (August 1897), both of which show orientals in a more human light as they witness examples of western brutality turned against itself.

In stark contrast to such xenophobia, oriental styles in art took on general acceptability from the early 1860s, when the so-called Aesthetic Movement was gathering momentum. Via Paris, articles of chinoiserie were reaching the more affluent and already cluttered Victorian homes in the shape of blue-and-white porcelain, oriental cabinets and ornate Japanese screens and fans. Inevitably, as in the case of medievalism, George du Maurier satirised the trend in a number of Punch social cuts, some of which, in a series that ran from 1874 to 1880, concentrate specifically on the rage for collecting expensive blue-and-white china.[328] 'The Six-Mark Tea-Pot' (October 1880) [287b] was the last of these, and it was echoed three years later in Tenniel's own 'Chinamania' (September 1883) [287a]. Here

Tenniel cleverly adapts his colleague's social satire to his own political one, portraying Madame France, having taken an interest in relations with China, being warned by John Bull (who ought to know) that it is an expensive taste; while the cartoon's question-and-answer style dialogue mimics that of the Aesthetic Bridegroom and his Bride, Tenniel also appears to hint at du Maurier's deliberately ugly woman by giving his classical female a somewhat squarer chin than usual, and a curly fringe.

It is clear, then, that through his many political cartoons, as well as in his illustrative work, Tenniel was one of Britain's most influential artists in his contribution towards the Victorians' somewhat distorted image of the east. As Said has shown, such images have to a large extent persisted into the twentieth century, and in most cases have exerted a negative influence in terms of national and international relationships: an influence that is only partially beginning to subside even now. While Tenniel's more racially-biassed cartoons tell us much about Victorian attitudes, they also constitute, in late-twentieth-century eyes, probably the most inflammatory examples of his work - far more so, perhaps, than even his anti-Catholic satires. However, every age has its prejudices as well as its preoccupations, and these must be examined objectively in order to arrive at a balanced view, not only of the age in question, but also of those that follow it.

NOTES TO PART IV

Introduction

269. Edward W. Said, Orientalism, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.1.

270. See Booth, 'Gothic and Eastern Melodrama'.

Lalla Rookh

271. Bibliographical information is taken from The Letters of Thomas Moore (2 vols., ed. Wilfred S. Dowden), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, and Memoirs, Journal, & Correspondence of Thomas Moore, (8 vols., ed. Lord John Russell), London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1853-56. See also Harold Cox and John E. Chandler, The House of Longman, 1724-1924, London: Longmans Green and Co., 1925, p.22.

272. Lalla Rookh, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817.

273. See, for example, Lalla Rookh, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown (16th ed.), 1832, with E.J. Portbury's new, and slightly smaller, engravings after Westall's designs. In America the engraving work was poor: see Lalla Rookh, Third American Edition, New York: Kirk & Mercein, and Charles Wiley, & Co.; Philadelphia: M. Thomas, 1818.

274. Lalla Roukh. Divertissement mêlé de chants et de danses, Le Comte Bruhl, Berlin: Louis Guillaume Wittich, 1822.

275. Lalla Rookh, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851, reissued 1853 and 1856.

276. Lalla Rookh, London: Routledge, Warne, & Routledge, 1860. The other artists were R.P. Leitch, Samuel Palmer, Harrison Weir and George Dodgson.

277. Lalla Rookh, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1868.

278. McLean, p.121.

279. Art Journal advertisement, 1868.

280. Moore's Irish Melodies, Lalla Rookh, National Airs, Legendary Ballads, Songs, &c, London: William Mackenzie, 1867.

281. Dalziel Record, pp.124-5.

282. Lalla Rookh, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849.

283. Fanny and Louisa Corbaux, Pearls of the East; or Beauties from Lalla Rookh, London: Charles Tilt, 1837.

284. Ormond, Daniel Maclise.

285. Vincent Amcotts, Lalla Rookh - An Oriental Extravaganza, Founded on Moore's Poem, London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, n.d.

286. Lalla Rookh, new impression of 1901 ed., London: Darf Publishers, 1986.

287. Quoted in White, p.112.

The Arabian Nights

288. Many of the bibliographical and other details are taken from The Arabian Nights in English Literature; Studies in the Reception of The Thousand and One Nights into British Culture, Peter L. Caracciolo (ed.), London: Macmillan Press, 1988.

289. The Arabian Nights, London: William Miller, 1802.

290. Pictorial Penny Arabian Nights' Entertainments, London: J.C. Moore, [1845].

291. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, Willoughby's Illustrated Standard Edition, London: Willoughby & Co., [1852-54]. The names of Levilly, Tellier and Wattier are visible on some of the designs.

292. Robert G. Hampson in Caracciolo, p.218.

293. Dalziel's Illustrirte Tausend und Eine Nacht, Leipzig, Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, Altona: A.H. Payne, n.d.

294. Dalziel Record, p.226.

295. Dalziel Record, p.116.

296. Reid, p.195.

297. Caracciolo, p.89.

298. Dalziel Record, pp.226, 228, 230.

299. Linley Sambourne illustrated Arthur A'Beckett's The Modern Arabian Nights, Bradbury, Agnew, 1877; several hundred illustrations by W. Heath Robinson and others appeared in The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, London: George Newnes, 1899; and Aubrey Beardsley illustrated the tale of Ali Baba in 1900 (Caracciolo, p.40).

300. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, A New Edition, London:

Frederick Warne & Co., 1866.

301. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, London: Ward, Lock, & Co., [1889].

302. Dalziel Record, p.126.

303. Quoted in Michael Slater, 'Dickens in Wonderland', Caracciolo, p.131.

304. Muir, pp.111, 141.

305. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, A New and Complete Edition, Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1865; London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1866.

306. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, [1874-75]. See Caracciolo, p.34.

307. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1877 [1876].

308. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments (4 vols.), The "Aldine" Edition, London: Pickering and Chatto, 1890. Wood's designs reappear in a 1901 six-volume edition.

309. Quoted by Michael Slater in Caracciolo, p.132.

310. Caracciolo, p.33.

311. See also 'The Fisherman and the Genius' (February 1893), in which a plump fisherman stares up at a Gladstone 'genie' emerging from a smoking 'Session' pot. Sindbad was also popular: see '"The Old Man of the Sea"' (November 1871), and '"Getting a Lift! or, "The Grand Old Man of the (Red) Sea"' (February 1884).

312. Other artists include Frank Brangwyn RA in 1922; E.J. Detmold in 1924; Arthur Szyk in 1954; and Frank Martin and Eric Fraser in 1958.

Art and Imperialism

313. Said, pp.285-6.

314. For other Shylock cartoons see '"Permissive" Government' (August 1875) and 'A Transient Triumph' (June 1882).

315. After Disraeli's death the role went to Joseph Chamberlain, who as the Gipsy Josefa brings a warning to Gladstone in 'The Derby "Sweep"' (June 1893). See also Tenniel's initial T to 'The Epsom-Gipsy's Art of Telling Fortunes' (Vol. 22, 1852).

316. See also 'D'Israel-i in Triumph; or, the Modern Sphynx' (June 1867), '"No Mistake!"' (November 1876), and 'Joseph in Egypt' (November 1889).

317. See also 'The Turkish Bath' (October 1876), 'One Bubble More' (January 1877), and 'A Turkish Bath' (August 1896).

318. See also 'Punch at the Crystal Palace ... The Nineveh Court' (Vol. 31, 1856) and '"Punch's" Dream of Things Egyptian!' (1878 Almanack); for Egypt as an alligator on crutches see 'Io Triumphe! - March Past of the Old Year' (1883 Almanack).

319. See also 'Tinkering!' (January 1876).

320. See also 'Dearly Bought' (March 1874) and '"The Irrepressible Nigger!"' (February 1881).

321. Silver recorded in his Diary, 27 February 1867: 'Shirley proud of having suggested two of Tenniel's finest Cuts - viz., the Bengal Tiger, and the Gladiators.'

322. See also '"Well done, all!"' (April 1898).

323. See '"Mending the Lesson"' (December 1873), 'Wrestling for Life' (April 1874), 'Our Famine in India' (September 1877), 'A Disillusion' (June 1879), and '"Second Thoughts"' (January 1897).

324. See also 'The Accession of the Queen of India' (September 1858), 'Her Best Title - "Queen of the East"' (March 1876), '"The Queen with Two Heads"' (April 1876), and 'Empress and Earl; or, One Good Turn Deserves Another' (August 1876).

325. See '"Bon Voyage!"' (October 1875), 1876 Almanack design, and 'The "Star" of India' (May 1876).

326. Quoted in Sarzano, p.30, from John Ruskin, The Art of England.

327. See also 'A Little Tea Party' (September 1858), 'The New Alliance' (September 1859), 'The "Irrepressible Chinee!"' (September 1888), and 'A Touching Appeal' (November 1894).

328. Ormond, George du Maurier, pp.289-93.

## V CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

### Introduction

Tenniel's earliest illustrations to children's literature appeared in the 1840s, in James Burns' Fireside Library: as noted in Part II, he drew a frontispiece to The Children in the Wood of 1845 (see p.90), and contributed a number of designs to the Juvenile Verse and Picture Book of 1848 (see p.95). However, books for children were at that time only just developing, and it was another twenty years before Tenniel became involved again in their illustration.

As noted by David Bland in The Illustration of Books and by Ruari McLean in Victorian Book Design, the nineteenth century was a formative period in the development of children's literature.[329] This was helped to a large extent by technological innovations in book production, including the ability to print in colour from the woodblock, a process of which Edmund Evans was the foremost practitioner. Coloured toy books began to appear in the 1860s, published by such firms as George Routledge and Frederick Warne, and attracted such artists as Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott and Kate Greenaway. There was also a growing, and often sentimental, interest in children and childhood at this time, so that children's literature was one of the few literary genres where fantasy was allowed to supersede morality (although, as we shall see, even this was by no means universal). Nor was it felt demeaning for a 'serious' illustrator to turn to children's books, so that artists such as Edward Lear, Crane, Caldecott, Greenaway, and Tenniel himself,

followed in the early twentieth century by Beatrix Potter and Arthur Rackham, have all made lasting reputations through their illustrations for children.

One particular point of significance is the fact that text and illustration were sometimes produced by the same person, most notably in the case of Lear's influential Book of Nonsense of 1846, and Potter's Peter Rabbit and other stories from 1902 onwards; less obviously belonging to this category are Lewis Carroll's own illustrations to the first Alice book, and Margaret Gatty's to her Parables from Nature. Equally significant, though, is the fact that Carroll and Gatty, both of them 'amateur' illustrators, quickly turned to professional artists for replacement designs as the popularity of their books grew. One of the artists they had in common was Tenniel, who provided forty-two illustrations to Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865), fifty to Through the Looking-Glass (1871), and just one to Gatty's Parables from Nature (1865).

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass

There are two disadvantages to any discussion of Tenniel's Alice designs. Firstly, this most famous combination of text and illustrations stands alone without comment, and in many ways defies analysis; secondly, and ironically in view of the above, the Alice 'phenomenon' has been analysed and discussed so exhaustively that what is really quite a simple children's story with pictures - the source, of course, of its attraction - has become academicised, and it is hard to regress, if that is the correct term, to a correspondingly simple discussion. The

purpose here, then, is not an ambitious one: as in the case of Tenniel's other designs, it is simply to examine the Alice books in terms of their bibliographical and illustrative history, to seek pictorial connections in Tenniel's other work, and to discover how influential Tenniel has been on later Alice artists.

From the point of view of style, the Alice books are very much products of their period, with text and illustrations alike exhibiting a typically Victorian eclecticism. As Humphrey Carpenter comments, Tenniel's classical draughtsmanship matches Carroll's carefully structured story:

> Alice is strikingly restrained, classical rather than romantic in its disciplined organisation. (This makes Tenniel, really a very stiff and formal artist compared to most comic draughtsmen of his day, peculiarly suitable as an illustrator.)[330]

This is, of course, true. One aspect of Tenniel's formality has to do with the composition of his designs, which often echo the structure of the stories by means of a symmetrical, enclosing sense of balance. This is often achieved by the placing of Alice between two other characters: the Mock Turtle and the Gryphon [174b], Tweedledum and Tweedledee in their armour [195b], the Red and White Queens, and the Lion and the Unicorn [196d]. Tenniel's use of bordering techniques has been noted previously; most explicit here is the familiar romanesque arch of the doorway in 'Queen Alice' [198a], and, more subtly still, the large padded armchair, set squarely to face the viewer, containing Alice within its outer edges [193a] - a long way, of course, from the ornate, gothic-style bordering of Undine and The Haunted Man, but the enclosing principle is exactly the same.

This formality is complemented by Tenniel's precise, classical line, developed over years of academic study of statuary and human anatomy, and brought to perfection in his allegorical female figures for Punch. This means that his portrayal of Alice, the only truly human figure in the stories, is sometimes reminiscent of his Britannia and other females, most notably in the Hall of Tears [171c] and pack of cards [175c] episodes, and in 'Queen Alice' [198a].

At the same time, however, each story takes place within the framework of a seemingly illogical dream fantasy, while the events and characters reflect all the familiar romantic elements: medievalism, the grotesque, the supernatural, the fanciful, humour, cruelty, cataclysm and threat, and Tenniel's designs reflect all of this. Indeed, Alice herself is something of a latter-day Undine, as the Pool of Tears episode suggests, and Tenniel's portrayal of her is strongly reminiscent of the wavy-haired mermaid [18a] of 1845. Alice is, however, quite the reverse of Fouqué's character for, rather than being a supernatural creature thrown into a harsh, everyday world, she is a real, human girl in an often cruel but essentially other-worldly setting. There are many other parallels with romantic trends of the day: military spectacle is represented in the comically inelegant battlescene in which men and horses fall over each other [196b], followed later by the drums beating behind Alice [197a], while the romantic sublime appears in delightful catacylsmic miniature to bring each story to a close, with the playing cards flying into the air at the end of the courtroom

scene [175c], and the shooting stars flying up when Alice pulls the tablecloth [198c].

As we have seen in Part II (pp.95-101), the cult of medievalism had become a source of parody well before the mid-1860s, and this tendency is evident in both Alice books. Punch itself may well have played a part here, for Dodgson was a regular reader of the magazine, and would have been familiar with the mock-medieval designs drawn by Tenniel and his colleagues. Thus, the two-dimensional characteristics of medieval art as seen in numerous Punch designs [209, 213a-b, 222b, 223a, 224a-b] probably influenced Dodgson in some of his own roughly-drawn illustrations to the first Alice book [182a], and Tenniel in turn exploits this comic convention by basing his Kings, Queens and Knaves on the De La Rue playing card designs, most noticeably in the croquet-ground and courtroom scenes [171a, 173c-d]. In the same way the three gardeners appear in medieval-style hoods and shoes [173b], the White Rabbit in heraldic dress [175a], and the Duchess in medieval costume and enormous headdress [173a, 174a]. The chess pieces of the second book carry out the same function, particularly in the medievalised appearance of Kings, Queens and Knights, while the Jabberwock episode [194a] is clearly a variation on the myth of St George and the Dragon, already noted (pp.96, 98) in a number of Tenniel's Punch initials and other designs [p.1, 205c, 206b, 214]. Tweedledum and Tweedledee in their homemade, domesticated armour are a further example [195b], as are a number of minor figures in medieval costume, namely the messenger Haigha, explicitly described by the White King as 'an

Anglo-Saxon Messenger [with] Anglo-Saxon attitudes' [196c], and the Mad Hatter (Hatta), still wearing his Victorian top hat from the first book but incongruously clad in a medieval tunic.

Medieval chivalry is satirised in the figure of the White Knight [197c], whose joust with his red counterpart [197b] parodies the courageous knights of old who never, or hardly ever, fell off their horses. There has been much conjecture as to Tenniel's model for his portrayal of this character: some of his contemporaries believed it to be his colleague, Horace (nicknamed Ponny) Mayhew, but Tenniel himself has also been recognised as a valid candidate, as hinted at in Linley Sambourne's 'Good Sir John!' design of 1893 [199b], not to mention Tenniel's own self-portrait of 1889 [199a]. Pictorial parallels must not be forgotten, however: Millais' painting, Sir Isumbras at the Ford (1857), is convincingly suggested by Timothy Hilton,[331] and would certainly have been seen by the author of Alice as well as by its illustrator; Cervantes' Don Quixote is another likely model, especially since a large number of illustrated editions appeared during the nineteenth century.

The grotesque and the supernatural, so prevalent in Tenniel's work, are well represented by the Jabberwock [194a]; indeed, so horrific did Dodgson regard this beast that he thought better of making it his frontispiece in case it frightened his young readers. Set against the sinister, gathering gloom of the 'tulgey wood', the Jabberwock is surrealistically grotesque, its 'jaws that bite', 'claws that catch' and 'eyes of flame' all humorously undercut by a domesticated-looking waistcoat complete

with three buttons. Its facial features resemble those of Tenniel's little goblin in 'The Ballad of John Bull' [212] of 1851, itself a precursor of his gargoyle drainpipe [155b] of 1864 for Barham's 'The Tragedy', with its protruding, beady eyes and open mouth. Equally as strange as their names are the fanciful 'toves', 'borogoves' and 'raths' [195d] in the 'Jabberwocky' poem, while Humpty Dumpty, with his spherical combination of body and face, is a perfect example of the comic grotesque [196a]. So, too, in their own individual ways, are the Duchess [173a, 174a], the Mad Hatter [175b], Father William and his son [172c], the struggling White King in Alice's hand [193d], and Tweedledum and Tweedledee, especially the former with his angry face and bared teeth [194c, 195a-b].

One particular aspect of Tenniel's grotesque art is his use of anthropomorphism. The Alice books are famous for their many humanised creatures: the Frog and Fish Footmen [172d], the vain Lobster [174c], the Walrus [194d], the decrepit, bespectacled old Lion [196d], the smiling joint of meat [198b] (anticipated by Tenniel in his Punch cartoon 'The English Beef, the French Wine, and the German Sausages' of January 1864),[332] and the orientally grotesque, hookah-smoking Caterpillar [172b], whose conversation with Alice has the heady atmosphere of an opium dream. Marguerite Mespoulet has suggested, in her Creators..of Wonderland,[333] that Tenniel was influenced in these anthropomorphisms by the grotesque designs of the French artist, J.J. Grandville (1803-47), who is accurately described by David Bland as 'a precursor of the surrealists'.[334] Mespoulet

identifies pictorial connections between, for example, Tenniel's White Rabbit, Dodo, Frog Footman, Mock Turtle, Humpty Dumpty and 'slithy toves', and Grandville's strange amalgams from such works as La Vie Privée et Publique des Animaux, Un Autre Monde and the French model for Punch, Le Charivari. Her arguments and examples are convincing, bearing in mind the fact that Grandville's work had been popular in England for some time before Alice appeared, and would therefore have been familiar to Tenniel and Dodgson alike. Indeed, Dodgson's very choice of animal characters could have been influenced by Grandville's work, so that the pictorial parallels in his own and Tenniel's designs would have followed on quite logically from the text.

As in all aspects of his books, Dodgson was particular over the layout of text and design, and took great pains to ensure the best possible combinations. Thus, the elongated Alice is made to occupy the full length of the left-hand side of one page [171b], while Tenniel's two depictions of her passage through the looking-glass appear on opposite sides of the same page so that the illusion of her transfer from one world to another is created as the page is turned [193b-c] (although this pagination is not always followed in later editions). As a realistic touch, as well as visual joke, Tenniel adds his initials in reverse on the second design.

All of this suggests detailed collaboration between author and artist. Few letters survive, but there has been much conjecture as to whether the relationship was an amicable one. In the absence of clear evidence either way, the experiences of

later Carroll illustrators have often been quoted to support the hypothesis of friction, implicit for example in Bland's reference to 'Carroll's interference with Tenniel and his meticulous scrutiny of the drawings'.[335] Perhaps it is sufficient to say that both men were shy, and this may have led to misunderstandings and awkwardness, especially since Tenniel was Dodgson's first illustrator. Dodgson certainly made great demands on all his artists, and suffered so much inadvertent frustration at their hands that he considered writing a pamphlet entitled 'Authors' Difficulties with Illustrators';[336] no doubt because of its controversial nature it never appeared. The illustrator Harry Furniss tells in his autobiography how trying Dodgson had been over the designs to Sylvie and Bruno (1889 and 1893);[337] the unintentionally patronising tone of Dodgson's letters clearly exacerbated matters: bearing in mind the author's gentle tone of voice and hesitant speech, a more leisurely, face-to-face discussion might have been less irritating. Dodgson was well aware of his ability to be tiresome, however, and appreciated the longsuffering indulgence of his artists. This is clear from his inscription in Henry Holiday's presentation copy of The Hunting of the Snark:

> Presented to Henry Holiday, most patient of Artists, by Charles L. Dodgson, most exacting, but not most ungrateful of Authors. March 29th 1876.[338]

A glimmer of a dispute with Tenniel is contained in one of Dodgson's few preserved, and consequently oft-quoted, comments on his first illustrator. This was made in a letter to another of his illustrators, Gertrude Thomson who, in dutiful compliance

with his wishes, had made use of child models for her designs to his book of 'Fairy-Fancies', Three Sunsets and Other Poems (1898). Dodgson commented to her that:

> Mr. Tenniel is the only artist, who has drawn for me, who resolutely refused to use a model, and declared he no more needed one than I should need a multiplication-table to work a mathematical problem![339]

Tenniel had clearly beaten him at his own game here, and Dodgson had not forgotten it. However, there is little evidence of coldness or awkwardness between them: the few surviving letters bear a general tone of goodwill, and Dodgson was one of many who wrote in friendly terms in 1893 to congratulate Tenniel on his knighthood. Having said all this, though, one feels that Tenniel was more at ease with some of his brasher, less self-conscious Punch colleagues such as Mark Lemon, Shirley Brooks and Tom Taylor.

In fact it was through Taylor as a mutual acquaintance that Dodgson gained an introduction to Tenniel in January 1864, having already expressed an interest in him as a potential illustrator: 'of all artists on wood,' he wrote, 'I should prefer Mr. Tenniel'.[340] Following their meeting Dodgson wrote in his diary that the artist 'was very friendly, and seemed to think favourably of undertaking the pictures'. By April, Tenniel had agreed to do the work, the plan being to publish for Christmas 1864; by the middle of December, however, he had sent Dodgson only the first twelve proofs, the death of his mother in November having contributed to a delay.[341] The book finally appeared in time for Christmas 1865, and was widely reviewed in the press,

Dodgson listing nineteen separate reviews that appeared between November 1865 and October 1866.[342]

The forty-two designs to this book made it Tenniel's fourth largest commission to date, most of his other work being smaller numbers of contributions to jointly-illustrated volumes, and despite Alice's great success it cannot be denied that the work must have been time-consuming and probably exhausting for Tenniel. It is understandable therefore that when Dodgson asked him in April 1868 to illustrate Through the Looking-Glass he refused. It is not clear whether Dodgson let Tenniel see an outline of the book on this occasion: if he did, the artist's decision may have been influenced by an impression that it was less well conceived than the first. At any rate, it was no doubt the thought of another heavy commitment, coming so soon after the first, that made Tenniel excuse himself on the grounds of other work,[343] despite the fact that he had no large projects on hand at the time. Dodgson was disappointed, but persisted in his attempt to find a suitable illustrator. He considered Richard Doyle and Arthur Hughes, but did not feel that they were quite suitable,[344] while Noel Paton was unwell and insisted that 'Tenniel is the man'. Dodgson finally wrote to Tenniel in June 1868, and this time obtained a reluctant agreement to do the work in spare moments, with a tentative publication date of Christmas 1869.[345]

As before, the illustrations came slowly, and the situation was aggravated by Tenniel's refusal to depict some of Carroll's subjects: he claimed for example that 'A wasp in a wig ... is

altogether beyond the appliances of art'.[346] (Dodgson succeeded better with Harry Furniss, who in Sylvie and Bruno Concluded portrayed a spider weeping at the retreat of Miss Muffet.) As an article in the Smithsonian for December 1977 demonstrates,[347] some writers have naïvely taken Tenniel's statement at face value and assumed inability on his part, whereas he was surely offering tactful criticism of a rather weak episode and thereby succeeded in persuading Dodgson to remove it without giving offence. If further proof is needed of this, Tenniel's cartoon 'The Turf Spider and the Flies' (July 1868), in which he depicts a large spider wearing saddle, bridle and jockey's cap, is enough to dispel any imaginary shortcomings in his treatment of humanised insects, not to mention his three looking-glass insects in the second Alice book.

Christmas 1869 came and went, and the illustrations had still not been completed. In February 1870 Dodgson wrote to his friend Margaret Gatty that 'Mr. Tenniel has gone to work at the pictures "with a will," and is getting on capitally',[348] but the delays continued, so that it was not until Christmas 1871 that the book appeared, and both author and artist no doubt breathed sighs of relief.

Tenniel clearly saw the fifty illustrations to this second Alice book as his final piece of work for Dodgson. As the latter stated in a letter of January 1878 to the illustrator A.B. Frost, 'Tenniel ... (I am sorry to say) will not now undertake woodcuts',[349] while Dodgson's nephew and biographer quotes from a letter from Tenniel himself:

> It is a curious fact ... that with 'Through the Looking-Glass' the faculty of making drawings for book illustration departed from me, and, notwithstanding all sorts of tempting inducements, I have done nothing in that direction since.[350]

Whether this claim to loss of ability was truth or tact, or a mixture of the two, is anyone's guess; the fact remains that Tenniel produced only two more book illustrations after 1871, for S.C. Hall's temperance books of 1873 and 1876.

But Tenniel had still not entirely finished with Alice: indeed, he was playing an active role in its production as late as 1896 when he examined proofs for the two-volume People's Edition.[351] Earlier than this he had agreed to do a frontispiece to an Alice's Puzzle-Book, but nothing materialised;[352] instead he had a hand in the production of The Nursery "Alice" of 1890, a delightful quarto edition with simplified text for very young children; this had a coloured front cover designed by Gertrude Thomson, while Tenniel himself coloured twenty enlargements of his own original illustrations. Dodgson's letter of 1881 to a friend, Helen Feilden, shows how a Dutch Alice, published independently in Nijmegen in around 1875, had given him the idea for this volume:

> Shall I send you a Dutch version of Alice with about 8 of the pictures done large in colours! It would do well to show to little children. I think of trying a coloured Alice myself - a "nursery edition." What do you think of it?[353]

Carroll's amended text interacts quite specifically with the illustrations, which suggests a certain amount of collaboration between artist and author. For example, he explains that the Mock Turtle has a calf's head because that is what mock turtle

soup is made from, and makes numerous references to colour: the White Rabbit's pink eyes and ears, brown coat, red pocket handkerchief, blue necktie and yellow waistcoat, and the Gryphon's red head and claws and green scales; similarly, the 'Advice from a Caterpillar' chapter he renames 'The Blue Caterpillar'. The colour medium lends itself effectively to a number of scenes, particularly that in which the gardeners paint the roses red, with the resultant angry, red face of the Queen of Hearts. Tenniel made some subtle changes for this edition: the guard at the top right of the frontispiece [171a] has changed his allegiance from black clubs to red hearts, while the dark shading has gone from the plate of tarts and from the jury animals' slates in order for them to be coloured respectively red and dark green. One addition throughout is the ribbon in Alice's hair - in 1865 her hair was loose - while to accommodate a change in fashion Tenniel gives her a broad blue bustle-like sash with a large bow at the back.

By the date of this four-shilling Nursery version, Alice had sold in enormous numbers. The 1865 and 1871 editions, at six shillings each, had reached their eighty-second and fifty-ninth thousands respectively, while the 1887 People's Editions, at two shillings and sixpence each, were in their fourteenth and ninth thousands. Macmillans had also published translations: French and German in 1869 and Italian in 1872, also at six shillings each. These were followed in 1886 by a four-shilling facsimile edition of Carroll's original manuscript containing thirty-seven of his own illustrations [182a], which he himself modestly but

accurately described as 'horrid'.[354] A Pall Mall Gazette survey of children's books in July 1898 found Alice's Adventures in Wonderland the top seller, with Through the Looking-Glass within the first twenty; according to Collingwood, the first was in its eighty-sixth thousand, the second in its sixty-first, and the Nursery edition had reached its eleventh thousand.[355]

Bearing in mind the immediate and lasting success of Alice, it is not surprising that, as in the case of some of Tenniel's other book illustrations, numerous parallels, and even anticipations, appeared in Punch. His 1864 title page design [240a] predates Alice's first literary appearance by one year, while in '"Hoity-Toity!!!"' (February 1868) [248b] she is Cousin Columbia, her horizontally striped dress (to suggest the American flag) giving a foretaste of her 1871 costume [197c].[356] Other Alice characters and situations appear too, some again predating their literary counterparts: Tenniel's bespectacled medieval king of 1852 (Vol. 22) [208d] is a precursor to his King of Hearts [171a], while, as noted in Part II (p.201), the White Queen [195c] reappears as Mrs Pope in 'A November Cracker' (November 1874) [270b], in the same tightly-wrapped shawl and down-at-heel slippers, and with the same unruly crinoline frame visible below her skirts. Similarly, his waistcoated frog of 1852 is the prototype of his frog footman of the first book and frog gardener of the second,[357] while in Punch a similar frog appears with a Humpty Dumpty lookalike in 'The Gigantic Gooseberry' (July 1871) [261a] to provide entertainment during the uneventful 'silly season'.[358] And finally, Mr Punch adopts the White Rabbit's

medievalised heraldic uniform, fanfare trumpet and stance to greet the New Year in '"Le Roi est Mort! Vive le Roi!"' (January 1884) [288b].[359]

Some allusions are more extended. When the German Kaiser reached the age of ninety the inevitable '"Father William"' (March 1887) congratulated him. Gladstone's turn came later, in a cartoon of the same name which comments on his adherence to the issue of Irish Home Rule (July 1893) [303b]: his pose and clothing are explicitly close to those of his Carroll predecessor [172c], even down to the position of his hat on the ground.[360] The Gryphon and the Mock Turtle appear frequently as representatives of the City of London, the gryphon being an ancient heraldic symbol for the City, while the Turtle's more comic connection was with the soup traditionally served at sumptuous civic banquets. 'Alice in Blunderland' (October 1880) [282a] is a comment on traffic congestion caused at St Clement's Danes by the installation of a gryphon statue. Almost twenty years later, 'Alice in Bumbleland' (March 1899) [312a] shows Alice in the rather unlikely character of Arthur Balfour in a satire on his confused reading of the London Government Bill, with the inevitable words: 'It's by far the most confusing thing I ever heard!' from the Mock Turtle.[361] Tweedledum and Tweedledee are popular too: their number is comically increased to three in 'April Showers; or, a Spoilt Easter Holiday' (April 1892) [303a], in which the 'triplet' MPs Goschen, Salisbury and Balfour, who have been gathering primroses (the late Benjamin Disraeli's favourite flower), shelter from the rain of threatened

dissolution, with no umbrella in sight.[362]

The Jabberwock [194a] has been perhaps the most enduring of Alice images: an early prototype with the same characteristically curling tail is Tenniel's initial S of 1852 (Vol. 22) [p.1]. There may also be a parallel in George du Maurier's Punch design, 'A Little Christmas Dream' (December 1868), with its comic allusion to the evolution debate and the discovery of fossilised remains. This depicts a little boy in a snowy, lamplit street staring up at an enormous mammoth-like creature; the positioning of the child is similar in both designs, as is the threatening aspect of the creature's open mouth. However, while du Maurier's creature is basically a large elephant with fanciful additions, Tenniel's monster is totally imaginary.

Only three months after the appearance of 'Jabberwocky' in December 1871, Tenniel adapted it for '"The Monster Slain"' (March 1872) [262b], an elaborate comment on the conclusion of the lengthy Tichborne case in which Arthur Orton, a butcher from Wagga Wagga in Australia, had made claim to the estate of Roger Tichborne, lost at sea in 1854. The caption makes explicit reference to Carroll's poem:

> And hast thou slain the Wagga-Wock?
> Come to my arms, my beamish boy!

the latter represented by a victorious lawyer. Tenniel's cartoon is explicitly close to the original illustration, with Mr Punch standing in the place of the young boy; the only major difference is in the monster's bulky, human head and fallen position. There is the same background of tall, gloomy trees, with the same

exposed roots on the right, and the monster has the same long, trailing tail, pointed dragon's wings and scaly body, with even a hint of a waistcoat. One further cartoon of this kind is the medievally-entitled 'The "Laidly Worm" of London - and Young County Council' (November 1890) [299b], which shows the recently-formed London County Council attempting to impose Sanitary Reform upon the terrifying beast of Landlordism and Vested Interest, who exudes the fumes of disease and death. Here again are the familiar wings and scaly body; the young assailant stands in similar juxtaposition to the monster, although Tenniel places him on the left instead of on the right, while his struggle with the too-heavy sword contrasts comically with the plucky young boy of the original illustration.

Dodgson's own relationship with Punch was a tenuous one. Despite his acquaintance with Tenniel and Taylor, and his occasional sending in of suggestions,[363] he was quick to complain if his real name was mentioned in connection with Alice - something which Shirley Brooks enjoyed doing on purpose to provoke him. The obituary verses which appeared in the magazine in January 1898, two weeks after Dodgson's death, are, in fact, less of a lament for Dodgson than a compliment to Tenniel:

> ... remembering well
> How he, our comrade, with his pencil lent
> Your fancy's speech a firmer spell.
> Master of rare woodcraft, by sympathy's
> Sure touch he caught your visionary gleams,
> And made your fame, the dreamer's, one with his,
> The wise interpreter of dreams.[364]

Tenniel was not, of course, the last artist to illustrate Alice: when the copyright of the first book expired in 1907

(followed by the second in 1913) there was a flurry of activity in illustrated editions.[365] This in itself led to a satirical cartoon in Punch, appearing nearly seven years after Tenniel's retirement as political cartoonist, entitled 'Tenniel's "Alice" Reigns Supreme' (December 1907).[366] Drawn by one of Tenniel's successors, E.T. Reed, this shows the 'real' Alice seated on a throne, surrounded by the Mad Hatter, The Ugly Duchess and others; they are looking indignantly down at a procession of odd-looking counterparts represented in a style parodic of Arthur Rackham, one of the new Alice illustrators. There are no fewer than four assorted Alices in the cartoon, three of them much smaller than the 'real' Alice, and all of them looking rather self-conscious.

Despite this criticism of new interpretations, there was a large market for such books, many of which contain colour plates as well as black-and-white designs. The most successful artists combine Tenniel's iconography with originality of treatment, one of the first of these being Rackham, with plates in dusky pastels of predominantly grey-green, brown and pink, as well as black-and-white designs.[367] Well aware of the hold which Tenniel's own illustrations had on the public imagination, Austin Dobson quips rather inappropriately in his Proem to this edition:

> Enchanting ALICE! Black-and-white
> Has made your deeds perennial;
> And naught save "Chaos and old Night"
> Can part you now from TENNIEL ...

Rackham does, in fact, echo Tenniel compositionally, but his modern, rather eerie style is a sign of his individuality.

Charles Heath Robinson's eight brightly-coloured plates and more than one hundred black-and-white illustrations are notable too; his White Rabbit falling into the cucumber frame [176a] is one example of compositional influence, combined with an innovative and attractive New-Era style.[368] Similarly, W.H. Walker's eight coloured and forty-two black-and-white designs are a successful combination of tradition and originality; his colourful court scene, viewed from the side rather than head-on [182b], amalgamates Tenniel's frontispiece with his Mad Hatter in the witness box [171a, 175b].[369]

Of Alice Ross' five delicate watercolour plates, her 'Pig and Pepper' [179a] is perhaps the best, conflating Tenniel designs from both books [172d, 198a].[370] Bessie Pease Gutmann's designs of 1908 are detracted from by a fussy, decorative border to every page and, illogically, her playing-card figures look as if the Queen of Hearts has already succeeded in having them beheaded; more successful is her colourful variation on Tenniel's frog and pig footmen [178].[371]

Since these early years there has been a steady flow of illustrated editions, every set of designs adding to an increasingly complex and varied Alice iconography. While the task of identifying influences in the midst of so much activity becomes more and more difficult, it is at least possible to trace some recurring motifs, such as the footmen of Ross and Gutmann noted above, from one edition to another. George Soper in 1911 is one of many artists to depict the pack of cards curving over Alice's head [179b],[372] while Margaret W. Tarrant's falling White

Rabbit of 1916 [176b] is as close to Robinson's of 1907 [176a] as it is to Tenniel's of 1865 [172a].[373] The turbulent kitchen scene, complete with medieval Duchess, has also been popular, two excellent examples being Alice B. Woodward's of 1913 [181a][374] and Gwynned M. Hudson's of 1922 [180].[375] A much later artist, Mervyn Peake in 1954, centres his attention entirely on the Duchess, turning her into a typical fifties dowager [181b].[376]

As some of these designs show, the 'real' human figure of Alice changes, sometimes quite markedly, with the fashions and tastes of the time, while the more imaginary characters remain basically the same. A twentieth-century Punch editor, Malcolm Muggeridge, in his Foreword to the Peake edition, identifies this process as a specifically historical phenomenon:

> Great masterpieces like Alice ... need to be constantly re-illustrated to relate them to our changing circumstances. Each generation gets, not only the government, but the ... Alice it deserves. Thus Tenniel's Alice is as self-assured, even as arrogant, as Queen Victoria, whereas Mr. Peake's is a bit of a dead-end kid.

Between Tenniel's Alice and Peake's Alice, according to Muggeridge, there exist more than sixty incarnations, but just two or three examples will suffice here to illustrate his point. Hudson's Alice of 1922 [180] has the same Tenniel simplicity and amused deference [173a], but her tall slimness and refined features make her unusually elegant, in striking contrast to the familiarly ugly Duchess. Far less recognisable is A.L. Bowley's doll-like Alice of 1932 [177]:[377] while she bears little relation to the Tenniel original [172b], the caterpillar has hardly changed. Finally, there is Henry Morin's typically Parisian

Alice of 1934,[378] with her smart pink dress and bobbed ginger hair [200b]; paradoxically, her neatly folded hands make her seem more Victorian than even Tenniel's Alice [194b]. Morin is one of the few Through the Looking-Glass artists to have done more than repeat Tenniel's motifs. Another exception in this respect is Leonard Weisgard in an American edition of 1949,[379] which contains some extravert, brightly-coloured plates and smaller black-and-white designs; his depiction of Alice passing through the looking-glass is particularly effective [200a].

New illustrations to Alice have never stopped appearing, but it is significant that these have failed to supersede Tenniel's own designs, which have never been out of print. While his other illustrations to literature, excellent as most of them are, have not survived in the popular imagination, it is in Lewis Carroll's two Alice books that Tenniel's name will live on, not only through their magical combination of fantasy and design, but also through the constant source of inspiration the story and its iconography have afforded, and are still affording, to later artists. It is still possible to assert the fact that, in the words of the 1907 Punch cartoon, 'Tenniel's "Alice" Reigns Supreme'.

Parables from Nature

At first glance, there would appear to be little in common between the fantastic, whimsical stories of Lewis Carroll and the moral tales of Margaret Gatty (1809-1873), whose Parables from Nature were published by Bell and Daldy in five series between 1855 and 1871. There are, however, a number of similarities

between the two writers, as well as one specific literary and pictorial parallel in which, coincidentally, Tenniel himself participated in 1865.

Firstly, Gatty and Dodgson were personally acquainted through their mutual interest in children and children's literature; Gatty was known to her readers as 'Aunt Judy' through Aunt Judy's Magazine, which she founded and edited from 1866; it was here that she reviewed Carroll's first Alice book, and went on to publish some of his shorter pieces. Both writers drew their inspiration from having young children around them, a stimulus that was withdrawn from them in later years: Dodgson's gradual estrangement from the maturing Alice Liddell is well known, while for Gatty, by 1865, her family had grown up, and her health was failing.[380]

Secondly, like many Victorians, Dodgson and Gatty shared a strong moral sense; they were also active members of the Church of England. Dodgson was the son of a clergyman, grew up in a north-country vicarage, and became a clergyman himself; Gatty was the daughter of a clergyman, spent her formative years in the scholarly atmosphere of a Yorkshire vicarage, and married the Rev. Alfred Gatty in 1839, so that it was in another peaceful Yorkshire vicarage that she spent the remainder of her life.

While her initial inspiration for the Parables had come from the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen, first published in English in 1846, Gatty deplored the absence of 'an object or moral' in his work: something that is never lacking in hers; with their epigraphs from the Bible and from poets like Milton, George

Herbert, Jeremy Taylor and Robert Blair, the Parables have a Sunday-School flavour about them, and carry a clear and simple message. Gatty also demonstrates a scientific interest in the material world around her, so that her tales are full of living creatures and growing things. Thus, her first Parable, 'A Lesson of Faith', concerns a caterpillar who is entrusted by a dying butterfly with the care of her eggs; the caterpillar has no idea that she herself will become a butterfly one day, nor that the cabbage leaf is an ideal resting place for the eggs, and it takes a high-flying lark to impress upon her that all is for the best, and that she must only trust.

In contrast, Carroll seems to rebel against such serious tendencies, at least in the Alice books, where he quite explicitly ridicules moral writing for children by making the Ugly Duchess assert to Alice that 'Every thing's got a moral, if only you can find it'. Similarly, verses such as 'The Voice of the Lobster' and 'Father William' have long been recognised as parodies of Isaac Watts' and Robert Southey's moral verses for children, while 'Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Bat' is based on a Sunday-school hymn by the evangelical writer, Jane Taylor. Dodgson's biographer, Collingwood, feels that his uncle would never consciously have ridiculed what he felt to be of serious moral import, so that one can only assume either that the parodies were written in all innocence or, more likely, that such verses were common targets by this time and that no sacrilege could be suspected.

It is primarily the moral aspect, then, which constitutes

the difference between the two writers. The fact that Dodgson's moral and clerical personality is absent from his two Alice books indicates that there were two distinct sides to his personality which he kept neurotically separate: the painfully shy, stuttering Oxford don who wrote dry, mathematical textbooks, and the innocent, childlike Carroll alter-ego who wrote fantasy literature for children. The troubled intellect and moral conscience of the adult Dodgson led to some strange episodes, especially, it would seem, with later illustrators: he made a point of asking Gertrude Thomson not to do any work for him on Sundays, and scolded Harry Furniss over the comic portrayal of a preacher in a play. And, while the Alice books benefit from the absence of any moralising tendency, the later Sylvie and Bruno is marred by an overtly theological and moralistic tone of the kind glimpsed in his 1876 'Easter Greeting' postscript to the first Alice book, with its reference to its young readers' growing old, dying and going to heaven. Gatty, on the other hand, had no such extremes of personality and, although her tales might appear overtly moralistic to twentieth-century readers, the carefully balanced combination of instruction and entertainment came as second nature to her, and she was able to achieve a happy compromise between the two for the benefit of the young readers of her own day.

The first series of the Parables appeared in 1855 and the second in 1857, both including illustrations by Gatty herself [184a-b]. Her two eldest daughters, Juliana and Margaret, contributed designs to the third series in 1861; this was

followed in 1864 by the fourth series, and in 1871 by the fifth. At prices of between one shilling and sixpence and two shillings each, these books were accessible to a reasonably wide market, and went into a number of editions; as in the case of Alice, translations appeared in several languagues, including French, Italian, German, Swedish and Russian.[381]

The illustrated giftbook edition, published in two volumes in 1861 and 1865, was a sign of the Parables' continuing popularity; advertised in Aunt Judy's Magazine as 'a Handsomely Illustrated Edition',[382] it was bound in purple and gold, and sold at one guinea for the single-volume version or half a guinea each for the two-volume set. Tenniel contributed one design, his fellow-artists including Edward Burne-Jones, William Holman Hunt, William Bell Scott, P. H. Calderon, C. W. Cope, G. H. Thomas, E. Warren, M. Ellen Edwards, Harrison Weir, Josef Wolf and Charles Keene: an eclectic mixture of the older school of illustrators and those, like Tenniel, who had begun to be influenced by the more recent Pre-Raphaelite style.

Tenniel's illustration, in the 1865 volume, is practically the only design in the book with a comic feel to it, alongside a collection of landscapes and serious figure pieces. It is to the story 'Whereunto', which was first published with the third series in 1861. This is a representative tale as far as Gatty is concerned, in that it illustrates her interest in the natural world and, more specifically, in the popular science of the seashore. It opens with a conversation between a crab and a starfish, both present in the foreground of Tenniel's design

[183]. It is low tide, and the starfish has become stranded in the hot sun. Two men appear, the disgruntled one on the left complaining to his companion that he can see no purpose in life - everything seems a waste of time. He points to the dying starfish as an example of useless waste of life, then throws it into the air with his stick, so that it falls into the shelter of some seaweed growing underneath a rock. The man complains that human beings are like the seaweed, born to die for no reason. Tenniel contrasts the second man with his grumpy companion by showing him examining a minute object through a magnifying glass - something that Gatty herself enjoyed doing - as if to suggest that spiritual enlightenment stems from an understanding and interest in natural things. Tenniel also incorporates a more subtle message for the discerning viewer, through the respective shadows of the two men: the melancholy man's star-shaped shadow is linked with the starfish through his pointing walking stick, suggesting that he is spiritually 'stranded' in his disbelief, while the optimistic man's shadow is shaped like the crab, as if to suggest that he approaches life more pragmatically.

The two men move on, leaving the crab and the starfish to discuss the conversation they have overheard about 'helpless sea-creatures'. The starfish argues that the disgruntled man did have a purpose, if only in saving her life, while the seaweed is there to shelter her. At this point all kinds of creatures and vegetation chime in, even the invisible microscopic life, to say how they too have a purpose in life. Then the tide turns, interrupting the discussion. The two men come hurrying back, and

have to jump up onto the rock to keep their feet dry. They watch the seaweed resume its natural shape in the water, and the optimistic man says that there are hundreds of reasons for such plants to exist: in fact, everything and everyone has a purpose, a moral which Gatty reinforces through her epigraph to the story, from section 128(11.22-24) of Tennyson's In Memoriam:

> I see in part
> That all, as in some piece of art,
> Is toil co-öperant to an end.

Thus, all but the sceptic, placed by Gatty as devil's advocate, speak dutifully of their place in creation, proclaiming the message that the close interdependence of the natural environment and human life is proof of the wisdom of God.

'Whereunto' must have been especially close to Gatty's heart, for she was a great enthusiast for marine biology, and published a textbook, The History of British Seaweeds, in 1863, which was still being used by students nearly one hundred years later.[383] On any seaside visit she would collect specimens and note them in her diary, returning home at the end of the holiday with seaweed samples, bottles of seawater, baskets of shells, and pieces of rock. In this she was quite unlike the stereotypically inactive Victorian middle-class woman, recommending

> a basket, a bottle, a stick, a strong pair of boots, and, let us add to crown the comfort, a strong, friendly, and willing, if not learned companion[.][384]

Her enthusiasm for exploring rock pools became quite a family joke, leading Juliana to write the following stanzas, in parody both of a Charles Kingsley poem and of her mother:

> O! is it weed or fish or floating hair?
> A zoophyte so rare,

Or but a lump of hair,
My raptured eyeballs see?
Were ever pools so deep or day so fair -
There's nothing like the sea!

My ungloved hands grasp Laminaria's root,
A crab crawls o'er my foot,
I would I were a brute.
I hate society.
The water gurgles sweetly in my boot!
There's nothing like the sea![385]

Tenniel's accompanying design is at first glance straightforwardly representative, so that one might be reminded of William Dyce's painting of Pegwell Bay (1860). However, on closer scrutiny, the same humorous vein that exists in Juliana's poem can be detected, for there is clear evidence of the subtle metamorphosing tendency of inanimate objects which has already been seen in some of Tenniel's Alice illustrations (p.313). The large rock in the middle ground bears a striking resemblance to the disgruntled man, with the strands of seaweed growing underneath it suggesting his whiskers, and the curving crevice his downturned mouth. While this pictorial joke has the effect of undercutting Gatty's serious moral purpose, it does not undermine it altogether.

A similar undercutting of Victorian earnestness can be detected in Carroll's numerous whimsical seashore scenes which appear, consciously or otherwise, to have used 'Whereunto' as a mɔdel. On one level, the coastal setting is not entirely surprising, considering the growing popularity of seaside holidays in the nineteenth century, assisted by an ever-expanding railway system; Dodgson, like Gatty, enjoyed holidays by the sea, and made the acquaintance of many of his child friends there.

The connection between the seaside locations of Dodgson and Gatty is far from just coincidence, however, when one examines the Gryphon and Mock Turtle episode [174b] in the first Alice book and the Walrus and Carpenter [194d] in the second. As in 'Whereunto', these two central characters are human or humanised creatures, one of whom is inexplicably melancholy; there is also an interaction with marine life: the lobsters, turtles, porpoise, whiting and snail in 1865, and the oysters in 1871. And, as if to confirm the reference to Gatty's tale, Tenniel places a dried-up starfish in the lower right-hand corner of the Walrus and Carpenter design. Nor were these the only examples, for two of Carroll's later illustrators, Harry Furniss and A.B. Frost, both had similar seashore scenes to illustrate: the former depicts badgers with herrings in Sylvie and Bruno, while the latter in Rhyme and Reason shows two marine-life explorers frightened by a monster in a cave.

It is evident from 'Whereunto' that Gatty's scientific studies did not give rise to the doubts in a benevolent deity which were experienced from the mid-nineteenth century onwards by Charles Darwin and others; her brand of theology looks back to the eighteenth century and beyond in its linking of the natural world with religious belief, and it is this 'lessons in nature' concept which is fundamental to the Parables. Dodgson, on the other hand, took an academic interest in the evolution debate, and sometimes incorporates its arguments into his parodies; thus, ironically, while Gatty's stories present nature as proof of God's goodness, Carroll's comic moral is a harsh, Darwinian one,

for the sole purpose of the sea creatures within his created universe is to be eaten by beings larger and greedier than themselves.

Bearing in mind Gatty's insistence on a moral, one wonders what she thought of the absence of didacticism, not to mention the anti-moralistic satire, in the work of her friend. As 'Aunt Judy' she was highly selective, as she herself indicates in her 'Editor's Address' of 1868:

> the absence of "sensational" tales - the endeavour to instruct in virtue, without drawing loathsome pictures of vice - while it makes Aunt Judy a treasure in the eyes of judicious parents, restricts her circulation to the judicious and the domestic.[386]

There is certainly no hint of criticism in her Alice in Wonderland review of June 1866, which pays equal compliment to author and illustrator.[387] She went on to publish Carroll's short story, Bruno's Revenge, in the December 1867 issue of Aunt Judy; then, in 1871, she included two of his Alice songs, 'Pig and Pepper' and 'Will you walk a little faster', together with musical settings; these were followed in 1872 by 'The Walrus and the Carpenter'. One wonders, again, whether she realised the significance of the latter two, since they are again from the seashore scenes of the two Alice books.

One final connection between the works of Carroll and Gatty is that they live on today. Alice is still universally known and loved, together with Tenniel's illustrations; more modestly, the Parables have retained a certain popularity into our own century, with volumes appearing as late as 1950, quite often with accompanying illustrations. By 1910, George Bell & Sons had

brought out a large edition with some beautiful colour plates and black-and-white designs by Alice B. Woodward, who followed this up with her own illustrations to Alice in Wonderland in 1913; it did well enough to be reissued in a smaller edition in 1923.[388]

It is surprising, however, in view of the explicitly moral element that makes Gatty's Parables seem out of date today, that the 1980s have seen a revival of her work in a number of children's editions. Pat Wynnejones and her illustrator, Sandra Fernandez, have sensibly transformed 'A Lesson of Faith' into Charlotte the Caterpillar, and 'The Law of Authority and Obedience' (centred upon the hierarchy of the beehive) into Benjamin Bee.[389] Perhaps 'Whereunto' will one day receive similar treatment, and Tenniel's single but effective design be challenged by a colourful new set of illustrations.

NOTES TO PART V

## Introduction

329. Details are taken from Bland, pp.127-136, and McLean, pp.45, 135-7.

## Alice

330. Humphrey Carpenter, Secret Gardens, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985.

331. Timothy Hilton, The Pre-Raphaelites, London: Thames and Hudson, 1970, p.82.

332. See also the 1873 Punch Almanack, which includes a grinning can of beef with arms and legs.

333. Marguerite Mespoulet, Creators of Wonderland, New York: Arrow Editions, 1934.

334. Bland, p.81.

335. Bland, p.131.

336. The Letters of Lewis Carroll (2 vols.), Morton N. Cohen (ed.), London: Macmillan, 1979, II.753-4.

337. Letters, II.1089-90.

338. Letters, I.228.

339. Quoted in Sarzano, p.18.

340. Letters, I.62.

341. Letters, I.72, 74.

342. Letters, I.82.

343. Letters, I.119.

344. Letters, I.120.

345. Letters, I.120.

346. Quoted in Sarzano, p.17.

347. The Smithsonian, VIII, December 1977.

348. Letters, I.149.

349. Letters, I.298.

350. Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll, Nelson, 1898, Ch. IV.

351. Hancher, p.139.

352. Hancher, p.140.

353. Letters, I.418.

354. Letters, I.608.

355. Two recent facsimile editions of the Nursery Alice have been published by Dover in 1966, and by Mayflower in 1979. both in New York; there was also a 1911 edition with colour plates (Hancher, p.142).

356. See also 'Fire and Smoke' (July 1871).

357. See also initial D (Vol. 22, 1852), with its waistcoated frog.

358. Humpty Dumpty represents a Turkish leader in '"Humpty Dumpty"' (July 1878); see also Linley Sambourne's Chinese Humpty Dumpty in a Preface design of 1900 (Vol. 119).

359. See also '"A Flourish of Trumpets"' (February 1889), showing a total of four MP heralds.

360. See also 'Wet, but Welcome' (December 1872), with an accompanying poem on the uncharacteristic winter weather beginning 'You are wet, Father Christmas'.

361. A watercolour of the latter was sold at Sotheby's in 1986; the catalogue makes the erroneous claim, no doubt to enhance the curiosity value, that this was Tenniel's only self-parody. Other related cartoons include two entitled '"The Voice of the Turtle"' (November 1874 and October 1882), both commenting on City reform, while in 'An Affecting Meeting' (July 1889) the turtle weeps at a banquet given for the Shah of Persia, the discontinued practice of serving turtle soup having been resumed.

362. Sir William Harcourt appears in Tweedledum uniform in 'A Suggestion for a "New Departure"' (October 1886).

363. His Swinburne parody 'Atalanta in Camden-Town' appeared in the 27 July 1867 issue (Letters, I.427).

364. Quoted in Collingwood from Punch, 29 January 1898.

365. Letters, II.1043.

366. I am grateful to Michael Slater for drawing my attention to this cartoon.

367. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: William Heinemann, 1907. Later Rackhamesque artists are A.E. Jackson in 1915 and A. Rado in 1945.

368. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: Cassell and Company, 1907.

369. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1907.

370. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, Edinburgh: W.P. Nimmo, Hay & Mitchell; London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1907.

371. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: John Milne, 1908, reprinted London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1920.

372. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: Headley Bros., 1911.

373. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1916, reissued 1952.

374. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913.

375. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922, reprinted 1938.

376. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass, London: Allan Wingate, 1954.

377. Alice in Wonderland, London: Raphael Tuck & Sons, 1932.

378. Alice au Pays des Merveilles et "De l'autre côté du miroir", Paris: Nelson, Editeurs, 1934.

379. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass, USA: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Parables from Nature

380. Biographical and bibliographical details are taken from Cristabel Maxwell, Mrs Gatty and Mrs Ewing, and from Juliana Horatia Ewing's 'Memoir' of her mother in Parables from Nature, London: George Bell and Sons, 1885.

381. Edward Bell, George Bell, Publisher, London: Chiswick Press, 1924, p.53.

382. Aunt Judy's Magazine, July 1866.

383. The History of British Seaweeds (2 vols.), 1863 (Maxwell, pp.94-5).

384. Quoted in Maxwell, p.96.

385. Quoted in Maxwell, p.98.

386. Aunt Judy's Magazine, Editor's Address, 1 April 1868.

387. Aunt Judy's Magazine, June 1866.

388. Parables from Nature, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1910 and Parables from Nature, London: G. Bell & Sons, Queen's Treasures Series, 1923.

389. These belong in a set of four Hedgerow Tales, the other titles being Robin Redbreast and Jeremy Cricket, Tring: Lion Publishing, 1984; see also a second set of four by Wynnejones, Village Tales (1991), illustrated by Sheila Ratcliffe. The trend in rewriting Gatty was set by Gladys Williams in The Mysterious Journey, London: Evans Brothers, Pippin Series, 1980, illustrated by Helen Backhouse (the tale reappears in Village Tales as Geronimo Grub).

## VI THE FINAL YEARS

### Introduction

The 1860s have rightly been called a golden age in book illustration, but as the 1870s approached the momentum seems to have been lost, and a number of artists gradually cut down on their black-and-white work. Millais is one example of this trend, and Tenniel is another: his reluctance to illustrate Through the Looking-Glass in the late 1860s has already been noted (p.317), as has his later refusal to do any further illustration work at all (pp.318-9).

Tenniel's decision is very clearly stated in a letter which he wrote to the publisher George Bentley on 6 November 1871, just as he was finishing his designs to the second Alice book:

> I am completely weary of drawing on wood; perfectly sick of wood engraving; and I have already more work on hand than I know what to do with. I am building a new roof to my studio and I am again 'going in' for the real enjoyment of painting. Under all these circumstances, I am forced to decline — with much thanks — your kind and very flattering proposal.[390]

It is not known what Bentley's proposal was, and one wonders whether Tenniel's reply might have been different if the publisher had waited until the New Year, when Through the Looking-Glass was safely out of the artist's hands and on the bookshop shelves. Also, bearing in mind his lifelong interest in painting, as well as the success of his Nursery "Alice" designs of 1890, it is unfortunate that Tenniel did not become involved in the expanding market for coloured toy books, since this might have given him the change of direction which he clearly needed.

However, there is evidence that Tenniel had been trying,

unsuccessfully, to cut down on his workload since the mid-1860s, perhaps sensing that his best book designs were behind him; by this time he would also be enjoying the security of his position as political cartoonist on Punch, and feeling that he deserved more leisure time. In fact, after the second Alice book appeared in December 1871, Tenniel drew only two further designs, to Samuel Carter Hall's temperance books, in 1873 and 1876; he was then free to concentrate on his Punch work, and enjoy the luxury of producing watercolour versions of his cartoons in his spare time. There had, however, been one other substantial commission which Tenniel had managed to fit in between the two Alice books: this was a set of twenty-nine illustrations to William Haig Miller's tractlike and gloomily evangelical book, The Mirage of Life, published by the Religious Tract Society in 1867.

The Mirage of Life

Miller's little book had been selling well ever since its publication in 1850, and Tenniel's designs to the giftbook edition of 1867 were no doubt seen as a continuing guarantee of its popularity. As the Society's own advertisement for the book announced in November 1867:

> it has been placed in the hands of Mr. Tenniel, whose name alone is a sufficient guarantee for the supreme excellence of his work.[391]

The Religious Tract Society was founded in London in 1799, and formed part of the modern missionary movement inaugurated in 1699 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. An evangelical organisation, it placed great emphasis on the authority of the Bible and on the concept of personal salvation,

and pledged itself to the dissemination of the Gospel at home and abroad through enormous numbers of inexpensive or free tracts, broadsheets for display on walls, and handbills for distribution at fairs and public executions. While nominally a non-sectarian organisation, the Society was firmly Protestant in its beliefs, and hostile to Roman Catholicism.[392]

As the Society grew, it began to publish books as well as tracts, one of the first being an edition of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in 1814, and by 1827 a Religious Circulating Library had been set up. By the 1860s the Society was contributing to the mainstream market for illustrated giftbooks, which included such titles as English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time (1864), The Months: Illustrated by Pen and Pencil (1864), Our Life Illustrated by Pen and Pencil (1865) and G.E. Sargent's Hurlock Chase (1876). For such books as these, many of the top artists of the day were employed: besides Tenniel himself they included George du Maurier, Fred Walker, Joseph Wolf, J.D. Watson, G.J. Pinwell, J.W. North and George Barnes. The Rev. L.B. White's anthology, English Sacred Poetry of the Olden Time of 1864, to which Tenniel contributed one design [150] (see p.64), was clearly a luxury edition: decoratively bound in green and gilt, it contained thirty-one illustrations by ten artists, and cost half a guinea.

The Society advertised its books in the pages of its twopenny magazine, the Religious Tract Society Reporter;[393] these advertisements were as commercially worded as their more secular counterparts, and included quotations from favourable reviews in

the Athenaeum, the Illustrated London News and other highly respected papers. For example, in December 1867 the Reporter refers to Miller's book as 'one of the most highly-valued volumes published by this Society', while its illustrator

> stands unquestionably at the head of his profession; and the production of this volume has been to him a labour of love.[394]

It is not clear from this whether the leader of his profession was being paid for his work, but this kind of high-flown language is an example of mid-Victorian advertising jargon.

At the same time, however, the Society's original raison d'être was never lost sight of: to preach the Gospel to the maximum number of readers, both rich and poor, and book prices were therefore kept as low as possible. For example, The Mirage of Life had been available as an inexpensive, one-shilling volume since its first appearance in 1850, and was still going strong in 1863 at the same price, or at one shilling and sixpence with extra boards. While the 1867 giftbook edition was comparatively expensive at four shillings and sixpence, even this was reduced to one shilling by 1884 as production costs fell, so that Tenniel's designs became accessible to a wider audience; they even survived briefly and fragmentarily into our own century: a 1917 edition omits some of his best illustrations, while those that are included are printed on shiny paper, and have been slightly enlarged and given a half-tone treatment, resulting in a rather undefined greyness that does not suit his style. A further 'improvement' to attract the modern reader is a coloured front cover depicting a classical female - evidently not by

Tenniel - looking up at a mirage of buildings and mountains.[395]

William Haig Miller (1812-1891) was born in Scotland, but at an early age moved from Edinburgh to London, where he spent the rest of his life.[396] The Religious Tract Society published a number of his books,[397] and he edited and wrote for two of its magazines, the Leisure Hour and the Sunday at Home. Miller's writings show him to have been an evangelical Christian, intent on sharing his faith with his readers, but closer to the Calvinism of Robert Pollok (see pp.149-53) than to the Liberalism of Robert Blair (see pp.155-61). Central to the Mirage, as to Miller's other books, is a belief in the work ethic, the need to find a purpose in life, the virtue of moderation, the acceptance of one's position in society, the importance of an untarnished reputation, and the emptiness of earthly fame. According to Miller, only prosperity combined with godliness can provide the proper basis on which to live one's life, and from the standpoint of the moralistic mid-Victorian age he looks back with disapproval at the apparent licentiousness of the Georgian era.

This censorious attitude gives the book a kind of death-in-life quality: its atmosphere is rarefied and austere, while Miller's constant emphasis on the worthlessness of the world, and his use of predominantly gloomy Old-Testament quotations to support his arguments, is typically Calvinistic. Worldly ambition is the ubiquitous enemy, as suggested in the book's epigraph, taken from Jane Taylor (1783-1824):

> Oh for a heart magnanimous to know
> Thy worth, poor world, and let thee go.

The Mirage is thus, in many ways, the reverse of Blair's Grave: ironically, in the place of Blair's optimism about earthly death and spiritual life in heaven, we have Miller's inherent pessimism about life on earth, which is perhaps a sign of the times in a decade when religion was shading off into a more secularised, superficial sense of morality.

This emphasis makes The Mirage of Life Miller's most pessimistic book, and thus rather an unusual vehicle for illustration. Twelve of its fourteen chapters concern famous artists, writers, politicians or private individuals of the Georgian period whose lives might have seemed enviable from the outside, but whose spiritual condition was unsatisfactory because they pursued empty aims (the mirage of the title) rather than put God first in their lives. Thus, in chapter after chapter, Miller communicates his message forcefully if repetitively, with an inevitable downward turn as his subject falls on hard times and dies in despair, or solitude, or poverty, or sometimes a combination of all three.

This gloomy scenario must have been a challenge to Tenniel's powers of invention, for he was required to provide two illustrations to each chapter. He rose to the occasion, however, by allowing his subtle but irrepressible sense of humour to enliven the rather more serious text. As a Reporter advertisement for November 1867 suggested:

> It may be doubted whether even Mr. Tenniel has produced anything in which the satire was more keen and polished, or in which folly has been held up more skilfully to pity and contempt than in these drawings.[398]

This can be sensed, for example, in Tenniel's composite design towards the end of the book [191c], in which he shows a long line of people chasing a female chimaera with the familiar long, flowing Pre-Raphaelite hair.

The first design to each chapter must have been fairly straightforward, if somewhat static, for it tends to be of a purely factual, expositional character; the second, appearing as a tailpiece, gave Tenniel more scope, and is usually more fanciful. This is true, for example, of the pair of designs that depict Napoleon Bonaparte's transformation from an emperor at the height of his power to a dishevelled eagle chained to a rock [191a-b]. Of the first type, that of William Beckford viewing the construction of the ill-fated Fonthill Abbey by night is the best and most atmospheric [187c], the illuminated tower, the cloak wrapped round for warmth, and the angle of viewpoint all inviting the viewer to share in the experience. For the second, more symbolic design, Tenniel often takes a hint from Miller's occasional use of imagery; thus, 'the gay butterfly of fashion', Beau Brummell [187a-b], squandering his income on clothes, is represented as a dying moth at the side of a burnt-out candlestick, while Clive of India's 'bubble reputation' [188a-b] is represented by two cherubs, one blowing and the other chasing bubbles. This latter design is one example of Tenniel's unexpected drollery, already noted in Blair [85a] (p.160); it is also a sign of Miller's repetitiveness from book to book that it was later reused in 1884 as a vignette to a chapter entitled 'The Bubble Reputation' in his Life's Pleasure Garden.

One of Miller's puritanical beliefs was that the arts have value only in their application to religion; to illustrate this he gives potted histories of the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan and of the artist Benjamin Robert Haydon, both of whom ended their lives in debtor's prisons. He writes of Haydon:

> Although capable, when rightly and religiously directed, of being eminently profitable; yet, when pursued on merely worldly principles, the career of the artist has often furnished a painful illustration of the Mirage of life.

Miller lays emphasis on the fame and fortune Haydon achieved through his religious paintings, then goes on to describe the waning of his popularity, followed by imprisonment for debt, and finally his death: a simplification of events which suggests that Haydon's neglect of religious subjects was his downfall. One wonders what Tenniel thought of Miller's argument: at least he could feel safe in illustrating <u>this</u> book.

Miller spent his entire working life at the National Provincial Bank of England,[399] so it is not surprising that he makes much of his subjects' misuse or mismanagement of money. In 'The Man of Wit and Humour' he describes how Theodore Hook's incompetence as Treasurer to Mauritius led to his public dishonour, then goes on to criticise him for being equally unsparing in the energy he expended on his impromptu entertainments:

> Lady A. has never heard one of his delightful extempores - the pianoforte is at hand - fresh and more vigorous efforts of fancy, memory, and application are called for - all the wondrous machinery of the brain taxed and strained to the very utmost - smiles and applause reward the exertion, and perhaps one more song is craved as a special favour.

Miller's argument that such frivolous activities contributed to Hook's downfall and early death is somewhat undercut here by Tenniel's charming depiction of the entertainer seated at the keyboard, surrounded by his admirers [189c]. Tenniel's delightful tailpiece to the same chapter again tends to work against Miller's harsh lesson: a more fanciful version of the sleeping fool in his Pollok illustration [62b] (p.150), he shows a puckish jester in a boat, his arms folded and his legs crossed, with a smile on his face as he approaches an unseen waterfall [189d]. Tenniel makes the connection explicit by using the same viewpoint for both designs, so that the jester's face in the tailpiece resembles that of Hook at the piano as closely as possible, right down to the thick curls at the temples. The nautical image itself reflects Miller's typically puritan metaphor:

> Life lay before him like a smooth ocean; and, intoxicated by success, he launched his bark fearlessly upon it: Youth stood at the prow, Mirth trimmed the sails, Folly took the helm; while the pennon which streamed in the air bore the words, "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes."

A similar comment on a flippant attitude to life comes in 'The Man of the World', which centres on Lord Chesterfield and his love of worldly things. In his first design Tenniel accurately conveys the aristocratic indolence of the man [190a], while his tailpiece of a hand playing with a cup and ball [190b] is a clear echo of his early Punch initial (Vol. 20, 1851) [205b]. There is a slight sense of sketchiness in the contents

of the tray carried by Chesterfield's servant, as there is occasionally elsewhere in the book, but it must be borne in mind here that the engravers, Butterworth and Heath, had not worked on Tenniel's designs before, and may not have done him complete justice.

Miller's prejudice regarding art for art's sake also extended to fiction, while poetry, when not written to the greater glory of God, he regards as an equally empty pursuit. His chosen figure for 'The Man of Literature' is Sir Walter Scott, whose novels had inspired a number of Tenniel's early paintings (see p.11), and Tenniel is thus required to give a portrait of Scott [188c], followed by a view of the writer's grave [188d]. Similarly, for 'The Poet', he depicts a portrait bust of Lord Byron [189a], followed by the skull-goblet from which the poet and his friends were reputed to have drunk wine [189b]: the same laurel wreath appears tellingly in both designs.

The Byron tailpiece design serves as an indication that, while not specifically macabre, The Mirage of Life is a product of its time in its images of death and decay, and one other tailpiece, to 'The Beauty', is an especially good example of this. The chapter concerns the transience of physical beauty, and Miller takes Lady Emma Hamilton [190c] for his subject, concluding with a moral on her pauper's death and unmarked grave. For added emphasis he quotes Lady Hester Stanhope's complaint about her missing teeth, lined face and generally lost looks:

> 'Look on me; what a lesson I am against vanity! Look at this arm, all skin and bone - so thin that you may see through it.'

Tenniel's dramatic trompe l'oeil illustration of a woman's head [190d] shows him at his most sensational: it is a shock to the viewer as the eye is drawn from the pretty, young face to the bare, shadowy skull that lies behind it, then to two additional touches of horror, the withering circle of roses at the back of the headdress and the skeletal hand held gracefully up to the chin. Although a late design, this gives evidence of Tenniel's familiarity with earlier art, for in its iconography and angle of viewpoint it is reminiscent of one of George Cruikshank's temperance designs, 'The Gin Shop', of November 1829, in which the girl serving behind the counter holds a pretty mask up to her face to hide the skull behind it. This is Tenniel's most chilling memento mori of all, more so than those in Tupper [53b] and Blair [85b] (see p.157), because of its subtle juxtaposition of life and death: it was in such pieces that Tenniel truly excelled.

In conclusion, it is clear that the strength of Tenniel's Mirage designs lies in the way he transformed everyday middle-class Victorian morality into memorable and sometimes even amusing images; it is thus through his skilful combination of striking symbolism and disarming humour that he reinforces Miller's unpalatable message in such a way as to influence readers without alienating them. This point is hinted at in a Court Circular review, quoted by the Reporter in March 1868:

> There are two preachers in this volume, the author and the artist; and the latter quite as impressive as the former.[400]

Samuel Carter Hall

Now that Tenniel's career as an illustrator was drawing to a graceful close, he must have sensed an element of cyclical completion in returning to work for Samuel Carter Hall (1800-1889), for this was the man who had commissioned some of his very earliest designs, namely, the Book of British Ballads [13] (1842-44) (pp.85-90), and the Art-Union's editions of Milton [48] (1848) (pp.56-7) and Byron [60] (1855) (pp.181-7).

For Tenniel, to move from the writings of Miller to those of Hall was a logical progression. Hall's two small, tractlike temperance books, The Trial of Sir Jasper (1873) and An Old Story (1875), are very much in the Miller tradition, reinforced by the coincidence that Tenniel's designs were again engraved by Butterworth and Heath. Secondly, Miller's The Mirage of Life may well have been an influence, whether conscious or otherwise, upon Hall, whose two-volume autobiography, Retrospect of a Long Life (1883), echoes Miller's criticisms of such pre-Victorian figures as Theodore Hook and Benjamin Haydon.[401]

Again like Miller, Hall was an earnest man and a devout Christian; as editor of the influential Art Journal from 1839 to 1880 he was something of a missionary journalist, seeking to expose the flourishing trade in fake old masters, as well as to encourage a wider public interest in the arts. He was also active in a number of voluntary organisations, which included the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, the Nightingale Fund, the Hospital for Consumption, and the Army and Navy Pensioners' Employment Society. His serious attitude to life won him the

nickname of 'Shirtcollar Hall', and Dickens used him as a model for his hypocritical architect, Mr Pecksniff, in Martin Chuzzlewit (1843-44).[402]

Hall was also a strict teetotaller, and his sense of mission emerges most clearly in his campaign against what he called 'the foul demon, DRINK, that curses our country'. His autobiography is littered with passionate denunciations of drunkenness, in references to the

> habits that sap the mind, paralyze power, and make dishonesty and vice triumph easily over rectitude and virtue

and how, at Irish wakes and funerals, 'It was by no means uncommon for the guests to drink from the death-hour to the burial.' To him drink is

> the tempter, the betrayer, the home-curse, the disease-producer, the soul-destroyer, blighting, mildewing, ruining, wherever it obtains power

and he believes that it gives rise to

> acts that as surely lead to wilful and self-inflicted death as if the hand had deliberately sent by a pistol-shot the body to the grave.[403]

This sense of revulsion culminates in Hall's Sir Jasper and An Old Story, both subtitled A Temperance Tale, in Verse, his purpose being to show, both in words and in pictures, the horrific results of drink; again like Miller, Hall sets salutary lessons before his readers in the hope of reforming them.

Although, as we have seen, Tenniel was tiring of book illustration by the early 1870s, it is significant that he was sufficiently sympathetic towards Hall's message to provide these two last designs. Unlike another of Hall's illustrators, George

Cruikshank, who had practically abandoned his artistic work to become a temperance orator,[404] Tenniel was not a teetotaller: he clearly enjoyed the convivial atmosphere of the Wednesday evening Punch dinners, and was quite capable of satirising temperance issues in such cartoons as 'The Loving (Tea) Cup' (November 1864) and 'John Bright's New Reform Bill. - "Reform Yourselves!"' (January 1870).[405]

The illustration of Sir Jasper involved no fewer than twenty-three artists and ten engravers. Of the former, Noel Paton, John Gilbert, E. M. Ward and Tenniel himself had worked together on the British Ballads;[406] joining them now were W. Cave Thomas, Birket Foster, Gustave Doré, Cruikshank and others.[407] Surprisingly, in view of these eminent names, the book was priced at only one shilling, and almost one thousand presentation copies were given away. French, Dutch and Welsh translations also appeared, as well as a limited, five-shilling edition for 'places where ordinary Temperance Tracts are seldom received';[408] this contained thirty-six pages of notes, and was advertised as

> A good, useful, valuable, and elegant gift-book, to be recommended for prizes in schools, or rewards in Temperance Societies.[409]

Hall's uncommercial attitude is further evident in his assertion that 'clichés were supplied by me, without charge, to all periodicals from which applications came for them.'[410] Inevitably, the disparity between cost of production and selling price resulted in heavier losses than even Hall himself had expected; however, as might be expected, profit was not his prime motivation:

> My main purpose was to introduce into Temperance Literature a higher class of pictorial Art than was usually found there, and that object I achieved, with the assistance of the distinguished artists I have referred to. To the poems I added notes, embodying copious evidence of the terrible evils of intemperance ... I have reason to believe the books continue to be effective in disseminating the principles of temperance, and I humbly thank God for that belief.[411]

Sir Jasper is a distiller who 'makes and vends the Gin', on trial before God; his victims appear one by one as witnesses. The tone of the book is set by W. Cave Thomas' frontispiece, entitled 'The Golden Mean of Temperance', in which Hall's masonic connections are alluded to in the symbolism of an open pair of compasses: an angel leans on these, while a drunken orgy takes place in the background on her left and the innocent drinking of water on her right.[412]

Tenniel's 'The Aged Drunkard' [201a] is an unpleasant enough portrayal of the evils of intemperance. Again, as with his Lady Hamilton design [190d] for Miller (p.353), a parallel may be drawn with Cruikshank's 'Gin Shop' design of 1829: not in any macabre reference this time, but in Cruikshank's image of a mother standing at the shop counter holding a small glass up to her baby's lips. Tenniel's version shows an horrific old man at the counter of a public house, holding the same tiny glass to a baby's mouth while its innocent young mother looks doatingly on. The old man is grinning horribly and almost toothlessly: he is unshaven, has a heavily-shaded nose to suggest redness, and is shabbily dressed, while the plump, healthy-looking and unconcerned barman behind the counter is merely shown as benefiting from the unfortunate addictions of his customers.

The implication of Hall's verse is that the old man, a former 'gentleman', could afford to take better care of himself if he did not spend all his money on drink, and that the child could grow up to be like him. He is:

> ... a sneak, a reprobate, a knave.
> The moral sense is dead: he does not shrink
> From any shift, or trick, or crime, for drink.
> See the degraded wretch we picture here:
> He blights the corn before it reach the ear.
> Yet he was once a gentleman - whose name
> Was heralded among the heirs of fame.
> See him: with gin his very soul is stained!

Because of its 'message' to the viewer, the impact of the design is almost cartoon-like in its effect. Indeed, Tenniel was able to translate it into a Punch cartoon the very next year, with a more comic, topical focus: 'Degenerate Days!!' (February 1874) contains an almost identical red-nosed drunkard and a fat publican who complain about the way that the new secret ballot accelerates the election process and obviates the need for alcoholic, or any other, bribery.

An Old Story is written along similar lines to Sir Jasper, and lavishly illustrated by twenty-six artists and nine engravers: Tenniel, Foster, Doré, Cruikshank and Paton are now joined by Millais, L. Alma-Tadema, Marcus Stone and others.[413] Again, the triangular design and flaming torch on the front cover and title page are masonic symbols. More sumptuously produced even than Sir Jasper, its price was three shillings, which was still relatively uncommercial. As before, the characters appear one by one, this time to make their confessions as at a temperance meeting.

Tenniel's 'At Break of Day' [201b] depicts a poor, dingy attic room, the daylight just beginning to illuminate the scene. A working man is slumped drunkenly asleep in his chair, his arms hanging limply over the chair arms; his wife lies at his feet, a bruise on her cheek. An empty bottle lies near her, together with pieces of glass from a broken mirror; the overturned table and chair suggest the struggle that has recently taken place during which the man has accidentally killed his wife, and the smoking and empty candle holder symbolises her death. Two stanzas explain the situation:

> There rose a palsied, haggard, ghastly, man,
> Branded by outer marks of Nature's ban:
> The huge frame was a wreck: these words he spoke:
> 'I knew not what I'd done, till I awoke -
> From sleep that gives no rest - at break of day:
> There, on the blood-stained floor, a woman lay.
>
> Just twenty years have passed since that dark night:
> And she - my wife - has never left my sight:
> Sleeping or waking, she is always near:
> I see her as I killed her: she is here!
> Nay, shun this red right hand: but have no fear:
> Hark! to her words of warning: for you may
> Be MURDERERS - like me - ere break of day.

Again, the man and woman in the design are echoed in many of Tenniel's cartoons: the man's facial features are those of a typical 'rough', while the woman, in both face and body, is of the more refined type derived from his classical female figures.

Hall clearly felt that, once these two books were issued, his literary efforts in the temperance cause were complete: by 1883 he had 'disposed of the stock and copyrights to the Temperance League, and thus my main purpose was achieved.'[414] Although his temperance gospel would appear at first sight to be

directed solely at the lower classes, it is in fact a democratic one, in that it is to some extent aimed at all levels of society: the aristocratic Sir Jasper, exploiting others through his manufacture and sale of gin, the former 'gentleman' in 'The Aged Drunkard', and the working classes in 'At Break of Day'. It is a sign of the earnestness of the period that so many prominent artists, whether teetotal or not, were willing to contribute their talents to Hall's campaign.

With these last two designs, Tenniel the illustrator was, in one respect, ending where he had begun. However, as these temperance designs demonstrate, his style and subject matter had changed quite considerably since his earlier commissions from Hall, in that social realism had taken the place of folk tales and mythology. This was only a temporary departure, however, for Tenniel was soon to begin work on a very different set of illustrations, to an author whose writings had been close to his heart since his very earliest days.

Shakespeare

While Tenniel continued to produce the weekly cartoon for Punch until his retirement in 1901 at the age of eighty, his career as a book illustrator ended in the mid-1870s with his two designs to Hall's temperance books. He did, however, produce one final, incomplete set of illustrations for a new edition of Shakespeare. This was a Dalziel Brothers' project in collaboration with Bradbury and Evans which would no doubt have resembled the Arabian Nights volume of 1863-65 in size and quality, and for which Tenniel would have been the sole illustrator. Sadly, he

realised after only a handful of drawings that he could not complete the work, and the entire project was dropped.[415] Only four drawings appear to have survived: two to Twelfth Night [202], one to The Merchant of Venice [203], and one to The Tempest [204].

Bearing in mind his lifelong love of the theatre, and of Shakespeare in particular, Tenniel was an ideal choice for this edition which, had it come to fruition, might have marked the perfect culmination of his career as an illustrator. The Dalziels do not say in their Record why the idea was scrapped - nor do they explain why Swain, and not their own firm, did the engravings - but perhaps Tenniel's lessening interest in, or aptitude for, book illustration was one of the reasons, together with a sense that the best of the 'sixties' work had been done, both by himself and by other artists. Another problem may have been the closeness of the subject matter to so many of his comic Shakespearean cartoons for Punch, which perhaps made it difficult for him to handle the more serious scenes. Whatever the reason, it is a great loss to us that Tenniel's illustrated Shakespeare never materialised.

Of the four designs that have survived, the two to Twelfth Night [202] are the most successful in composition, mood and detail: they give Tenniel an opportunity to employ his knowledge of Elizabethan costume, and it is interesting to note that Maria's costume has hardly changed since his Punch spoof of 1855 [221a]. Both of these 1878 designs contain a strong element of humour, at which he excelled: the first shows Sir Toby Belch, Sir

Andrew Aguecheek, Feste and Maria plotting the humiliation of Malvolio, and it was not long before this was allowed to spill over into a cartoon, '"We Three!"' (November 1884), which shows Lord Salisbury as Sir Toby, Lord Northcote as Sir Andrew, and Randolph Churchill as Feste, discussing the Liberal opposition, John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain. The second illustration shows the famous scene in which Malvolio appears cross-gartered to Olivia; there is something here perhaps of Maclise's Scene from Twelfth Night (c.1840) [22b], although Tenniel's design contains an element of grotesque humour which Maclise's painting does not.

The Shylock portrait [203], found in the Witt Library and assumed to be Tenniel's Merchant of Venice illustration, shows a more realistic version of his stereotypical Victorian Jew, already discussed in Part III (pp.290-2). The emphasis is still on moneybags and meanness, but without the usual element of grotesqueness or caricature of such earlier versions as the Jewish Disabilities spoof of 1856 [221b] (p.290) or the 'Brothers of Birchington' devil of 1864 [165a] (pp.199-200); indeed, it is much closer in its realism to the later cartoon, 'The Turkish Shylock' (May 1897) [310b].

Tenniel's Tempest illustration [204] is the least successful of the four. It contains a strange, confusing mixture of classical, romantic and grotesque styles, and this results in a seriously cluttered and overworked design, lacking at the same time a sense of the supernatural that one would expect from a representation of such a magical play. Compared for example with

the Sleeping Genie in his Arabian Nights design of 1863 [135] (pp.283-4), the Caliban figure is pointlessly ugly rather than genuinely frightening, perhaps because of an excess of animal characteristics. Tenniel's earlier Calibanic figure, the Fenian in 'The Irish "Tempest"' (March 1870) [256b], while disturbingly typical of his portrayal of Irish radicals, is marginally less monstrous, and might have made a more suitable model. It was perhaps this Tempest design, then, that decided the artist against going on with the work, so that, in a sense, Shakespeare's farewell play was also Tenniel's.

However, as we have seen throughout this study of Tenniel's book illustrations and political cartoons, there was always a free interchange between the two media in which he worked. Thus, in place of the unpublished Shakespeare, we have from over the years a substantial set of cartoons that might well appear one day under the title of Mr Punch's Illustrated Shakespeare.

This situation is not surprising, since from its inception in 1841 Punch was a magazine with strong theatrical leanings, and with the interests of the actors and playwrights on its staff reflected in the drawings of its artists. Tenniel's portrait of his friend and colleague Mark Lemon as an amateur Falstaff is an interesting demonstration of how this worked out in practice: the portrait appeared in the Illustrated London News in October 1868, and many years later Tenniel drew on it for his cartoon 'Falstaff's Fix' (May 1894) [305a], which shows the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, being berated by Hostess Quickly for his measures against innkeepers. Much of the costume

detail is the same in both, but whereas Lemon's Falstaff is a jolly, good-natured man, Harcourt's Falstaff appears, necessarily, as a greedy, unpleasant, and even seedy character. These strong theatrical connections, then, ensured that many of the political cartoons, their subjects chosen by committee at the Wednesday evening staff dinners, reflected an interest in all aspects of the theatre. By far the largest proportion of references were to the plays of Shakespeare, which would have been the most familiar to Punch's readership.

Indeed, Tenniel's humorous treatment of Shakespeare dates back to several years before he joined Punch: to the mid-1840s, in fact, when he based some of his comic designs for the Book of Beauty (see p.14) on punning misinterpretations of lines from the plays. He revived this practice in 1855 and 1856 for the 'Punch's Illustrations to Shakespeare' series, which resulted, for example, in the 'islander' Caliban appearing in the tartan of a Scottish highlander, Feste appearing in the costume of a pantomime clown [221a], and a set of pantomime columbines dancing before the king in Ophelia's mad scene [220b]. Occasionally these early designs give a foretaste of Tenniel's later political cartoons in the way in which they comment on topical issues: for example, the lines from Coriolanus that liken Young Marcius to his father are made to refer to Napoleon III's newly-born child, while the court scene from The Merchant of Venice [221b] comments satirically on the contentious Bill for the removal of Jewish Disabilities (see p.290).

As his central position in the latter design suggests, the

magazine's main character and presenter is Mr Punch himself. A famous performing puppet in Punch-and-Judy shows long before the magazine bearing his name was even thought of, it is appropriate that Punch's general dramatic ambience should rest in his hands, so that Punch the entertainer is seen to play to his audience, the reader. Like all good actors, he is a protean character and a quick-change artist, assuming different roles and costumes in a variety of theatrical contexts. Mr Punch clearly sees history, and his own role within it, in an explicitly theatrical context: for example, Tenniel's fourth design to the 'Punch's Anniversaries' series presents him in an heroic Shakespearean role, sharing the stage (complete with footlights and blatantly flat scenery) with Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field (Vol. 21, 1851) [215a]. Punch's most appropriate Shakespearean role, though, is Puck, a figure of fun, practical jokes and satire: 'Bottom's Dream' (March 1872) [262a] shows him ridiculing the working man for his republican leanings.[416] In '"Come unto these yellow sands!"' (August 1874) he is cast less appropriately as Ariel, leading the holidaying Disraeli-Ferdinand onto the beach; with his deformed solidity so unlike Ariel's sylph-like nature, Mr Punch is poking fun at himself here as much as at Disraeli.[417]

Apart from Mr Punch himself, the foremost of all performers in the magazine are the politicians, who appear not only as Shakespearean characters, but also as theatre managers, playwrights, actors, backroom boys, puppets, clowns, acrobats, conjurors, jugglers, magicians, musicians, singers, music hall

artists and dancers.[418] The entertainment analogy is an appropriate one, for politicians were and still are exploited by the media for their entertainment value. On a more subversive level, though, an element of deception is hinted at in these cartoons: theatrical entertainment of all kinds relies to a greater or lesser extent on the creation of illusion, and politicians are often seen in Punch to behave as illusionists - concealers, pretenders and role-players - in the way in which they present themselves and their actions.

As noted in the Introduction (p.13), Shakespearean allusions abound in Tenniel's political cartoons, the choice of plays no doubt reflecting what was being performed on the London stage. Between 1860 and 1900 well over eighty of Tenniel's cartoons were based on Shakespeare, often in a burlesqued or melodramatic form. The Tempest and Hamlet appear most frequently (approximately fourteen and fifteen times respectively), with Macbeth and Othello not far behind (ten and six times respectively). Of the history plays, Henry IV and Richard III are well represented, as are the comedies As You Like It, A Midsummer Night's Dream and The Merchant of Venice. The Victorian reader of Punch must have felt a sense of delight in recognising a quotation or situation presented in a new and strikingly topical context, while for the twentieth-century reader the continued familiarity of Shakespeare ensures that many of these cartoons are still funny today, the humour being further compounded by the provision of act and scene number in an obliging gesture of mock scholarship. The occasionally serious reference must also have had an emotional

impact, perhaps equalling that of the Bible: for example, contemporary readers must have been deeply moved by the quotation from Henry V, spoken by Queen Victoria herself, which forms the title of the Crimean War cartoon, '"O God of Battles! Steel My Soldiers' Hearts!"' (October 1857) [234b].

Hamlet was one of the most frequently performed plays in the nineteenth century, and is consequently featured regularly among Tenniel's cartoons.[419] The leading role was often made to stand specifically for that of Prime Minister, so that Disraeli and Gladstone in particular take turns to appear as the melancholy tragic hero, with more or less ridiculous results. Punch tended to treat Disraeli with suspicion, projecting an image of him at various times cheeky, disreputable, deceptive and mysterious, while Gladstone appeared in a predominantly noble light, and this disparity is evident in two 'companion-piece' cartoons, 'Rival Stars' (March 1868) [250a] and 'Rival Actors' (October 1868) [251a]. The first of these presents Disraeli in the coveted role of Hamlet, admiring his reflection in the glass while the 'resting' actor Gladstone stands sullenly to one side; a few months later, the second cartoon shows a noble-looking Gladstone as man-of-the-people William Tell (a more actively heroic, and therefore less tragic role than that of Hamlet), while a most decrepit-looking Jeremy Diddler-Disraeli sulks in the shadowy wings, having lost much of his popularity.[420]

Disraeli is cast as Hamlet again in 'Diz-Interred' (May 1879) [277b], in which he shows disgust at his once-loved policy of Protectionism, long since thrown over for Free Trade: at one

time, he says, it bore him up, but now "My gorge rises at it!!" A later gravedigger scene, 'Hamlet and the Skull' (May 1894) [304b], shows an unattractively plump Sir William Harcourt as Chancellor of the Exchequer, meditating on the subject of death duties; as in the Falstaff role noted above, his size is exaggerated to symbolise what Punch wished to portray as excessive financial greed.[421] Nor was the part of Hamlet confined solely to British politicians: 'Monsieur Hamlet' (December 1872) [265a] shows the French leader Louis Adolphe Thiers and France-Gertrude in a parody of the portrait scene, one picture representing the preferred Conservative Republic, another the feared Communist Republic, while Monarchy remains a faded and ignored portrait on the right.[422]

Hamlet's tragic predicament produces an effective pair of cartoons for Disraeli and Gladstone in '"To Be, or Not To Be - That is the Question"' (April 1880) [281a] and 'A Difficult Part' (March 1881) [283a]. The first shows a gloomy Disraeli waiting for the General Election results as if they were a matter of life and death, and it is significant, in view of Disraeli's pessimistic mood, that Tenniel seats him in the same style of chair as that of the melancholy young man in his Poe illustrations of 1858 [74b, 75b]. Disraeli did in fact lose this election to Gladstone, so that almost a year later the Liberal leader appears in the coveted role; there is little sense of rejoicing, however, for he is surrounded by papers and problems inherited from his predecessor, and is made to soliloquise: "The time is out of joint; - O cursèd spite, That ever I was born to

set it right!"

Disraeli died in the following month, and one of the most fruitfully rivalrous partnerships of the nineteenth century in terms of political caricature came to an end. After that, depending upon circumstances, Gladstone was sometimes allocated the kind of disreputable role which had previously been reserved for Disraeli, but this treatment, although less respectful than in earlier years, is still generally affectionate in its nature.[423] Gladstone was to continue in and out of office until his death in May 1898, appearing in Tenniel's cartoons as something of a lone star among the lesser glimmerings of slighter, but still entertaining, politicians.

Macbeth is another play which supplies some particularly effective images, an early example being Tenniel's illustrations to 'Macbeth at Astley's' (Vol. 32, 1857) [219], a comic piece which satirises equestrianised productions. In the cartoons, the vision of the line of kings is one of the most frequent: for example, 'Mac-Smith in the Witches' Cave' (May 1887) [297a] shows a procession of amendments to the long-running Crimes Bill, whose promoter, W.H. Smith, exclaims in horror, "What! - Will the line stretch out till the crack of doom?"; Gladstone and two other MPs are cast as witches, while the Liberal leader's Scottish parentage is alluded to in the accompanying play scene, in which Smith is warned that he must beware Mac-Gladstone, the Thane of Flint. Further afield, a comment on the Berlin conference between the Emperors of Austria, Germany and Russia is found in 'The Imperial Witches' (September 1872) [264b], in which Mr Punch

as Macbeth paraphrases Shakespeare in comically colloquial manner with "Now, then, you secret, black, and midnight wags! What's your little game?"[424]

Tenniel's use of Othello is less successful. The rather static and laboured '"The Pity of It!"' (May 1896) [310a] tactfully laments Cecil Rhodes' loss of authority in South Africa: "Cassio, I love thee; but never more be officer of mine". The comic-grotesque 'Amateur Theatricals. An Othello "Break-Down"' [227] for the 1868 Almanack is more effective, thanks to its overt theatricality.[425]

The mere title of The Tempest served well for any political situation of heightened emotion. Over the years various 'tempests' are commented upon, including Napoleon III's turbulent relationship with the rest of Europe, the American Civil War, and Ireland's uncomfortable subjection to England. Two cartoons present Gladstone as a noble, dignified Prospero, accompanied by a highly idealised Ireland in the shape of Hibernia-Miranda: 'The End of the "Tempest"' (March 1869) [255b] shows him setting the Protestant Irish Church free on the occasion of its disestablishment; the Irish Land Bill followed, resulting in Fenian agitation, so that a year later in 'The Irish "Tempest"' (March 1870) [256b] Gladstone stands firm before the Calibanic monster of aggressive Irish nationalism who claims "This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother, which thou tak'st from me." In a more comic mode, Joseph Chamberlain is transformed into Ariel in 'The "Tricksy Spirit"!' (July 1897) [311a], charming his leader Lord Salisbury - an unconvincing Ferdinand - with the strange

music of his Workmen's Compensation Bill.[426]

Of the other plays, A Midsummer Night's Dream is featured in 'Oberon and Titania' (April 1862) [238b], showing President Lincoln as Oberon and Miss Virginia as Titania quarrelling over a little negro boy. Closer to home, 'Queen Hermione' (September 1865) [242b], a well-chosen analogy to the statue scene in The Winter's Tale, depicts Britannia urging Victoria to bring her lengthy private mourning for Prince Albert to an end and return to public life. Joseph Chamberlain, MP for Birmingham, is another frequent object of satire: notorious for his convenient changes of affiliation, he muses in 'The Birmingham Benedick' (May 1895) [307b], in an echo of the confirmed bachelor's sudden reversal of attitude towards marriage:

> "Doth not the appetite change? ... When I said I would die an Independent Radical, I did not think I should live to be allied with a Tory party."

In a tribute to Tenniel's long career as chief cartoonist on the occasion of his retirement in January 1901, the magazine opens with the dramatic announcement of "His last appearance!". Presented thus as a theatrical personality, and described as "Mr. Punch's great cartoonist", Tenniel is by implication a performer under the theatrical management and showmanship of Mr Punch. One is reminded of one of Tenniel's very earliest pieces of decorative work, a comic initial T (Vol. 21, 1851) [p.6]; showing an artist with easel and palette, balancing a large object on the end of his nose for the entertainment of his viewers, this serves as an apt symbol for Tenniel's role as Punch artist during one of the most eventful fifty-year periods in world history.

## Conclusion

When Tenniel died in February 1914, many of his illustrations, along with the books in which they had appeared, were no longer in print. However, some of them survived for a time: his Aesop's Fables (1848) and his Mirage of Life (1867) both retained a foothold into the twentieth century, as did the jointly-illustrated Legends and Lyrics (1866) and Puck on Pegasus (1861). Other literature to which he had contributed remained popular enough for new artists to provide their own illustrations, for example when copyrights expired, but even then, as we have seen in the case of Undine, 'The Raven', The Ingoldsby Legends, The Arabian Nights and Alice, many of these later designs show Tenniel's influence.

Today, a small but important proportion of Tenniel's work still remains in print. It is mainly thanks to the continuing popularity of Dickens that his illustrations to The Haunted Man are readily available, but the supreme examples of Tenniel's art are of course his ninety-two designs to Lewis Carroll's two Alice books, which Macmillan continue to issue in a variety of editions, thus ensuring that Tenniel's interpretation is better known than that of any other artist. As Tenniel's own colleague, George du Maurier, wrote of these illustrations in 1890:

> It is like Sir Arthur Sullivan's music to Mr. Gilbert's delightful librettos. These little pictures are a joy for ever; they stick in the mind like charming tunes that won't allow themselves to be forgotten.[427]

The most serious problem facing Tenniel's work today is the fact that his illustrations suffer from the obscurity of much of

the literature they accompany: time and effort are needed, for example, to absorb the themes and arguments of Robert Pollok and Martin Tupper before the significance and value of the illustrations can be assessed. It must be remembered, though, that what is obscure in the twentieth century because of changing tastes and attitudes was vitally central to the many-faceted culture of the Victorian age. In his own day Tenniel was not at the margins of literary and artistic activity, but at the very centre, both of the popular and 'higher' culture of the period. His illustrations appeared in a wide variety of publications, ranging from jointly-illustrated verse anthologies to popular magazines and periodicals, and accompanied all kinds of literature, including romantic tales, religious prose and poetry, novels, and children's stories. Some of his work appeared in de luxe editions, but much of it was accessible to a wider or even mass audience in medium-priced or cheap editions. It is for all these reasons, as well as for the intrinsic value of his work, that Tenniel's artistic contribution to the age in which he lived is worthy of attention.

Another difficulty in studying Tenniel's work lies in the bewildering range of styles he employs, although this is simply an indication of his chameleon-like versatility as a draughtsman. One of the main points of contrast is between his serious and his comic work. On the one hand, we have writers like John Ruskin, whose praise of Tenniel's grandeur of style may be couched in characteristically exaggerated language, but whose words convey a sense of the classical tradition within which the artist had

learned his profession and acquired his skill:

> Tenniel has much of the largeness and symbolic mystery of imagination which belong to the great leaders of classic art: in the shadowy masses and sweeping lines of his great compositions, there are tendencies which might have won his adoption into the school of Tintoret ...[428]

Ruskin is referring specifically to the cartoons here, but his words apply equally to some of Tenniel's best illustrations: a powerful design like his 'Massacre at Scio' [73a], for example, could perfectly well have been translated into a grand fresco or an arresting oil painting. Even some of the mature comic pieces, like the witch's abduction in 'The Hand of Glory' [152] or 'Jabberwocky' [194a], seem to jump out at the viewer with a dramatic life of their own, while on a more domestic level a scene like 'Inattention' [99a] would have made a striking and thought-provoking narrative painting.

To my mind, though, it is in his comic work that Tenniel truly excelled, as reflected in Sambourne's joke about how 'Thackeray used to say that no one drew boots as Tenniel does'.[429] Du Maurier's analogy with Sullivan can be taken further in this respect: just as Sullivan longed to be taken seriously as a composer of symphonies, grand operas and oratorios, so Tenniel's earliest ambitions had been in the realm of 'high' art, hence his frequent wish to renounce wood engraving and devote more time to painting. However, just as Sullivan is remembered best today for the partnership with Gilbert which enabled him to parody the work of serious composers and make gentle fun of Victorian society, so was Tenniel most successful

as a humourist. The parallels identified throughout this thesis between Tenniel's book illustrations and his political cartoons serve to demonstrate the way in which the two media informed and influenced each other and, as the numerous examples of this interplay suggest, it is in the field of parody, and of self-parody, that Tenniel's work can be most fully appreciated.

An acknowledgement must also be made here of Tenniel's uniqueness as a draughtsman, as already alluded to in the quotation from Frith given in the Introduction (pp.42-3). In all of his mature work there is something ideally personal and idiosyncratic in Tenniel's figures, something so three-dimensionally tangible about them that no other artist's work can be mistaken for his. These figures, both human and animal, have such a sense of solidity, both in the roundness of their limbs and in their secure stance; the faces of his animals are appealingly expressive; his compositional skills are second to none; his textural representation ranges from the softness of silk to the roughness of a stone wall; he can endow a scene with a sense of heat or of chilling coldness; he is able to suggest a range of emotions from pathos, to horror, to broad humour; he is able to switch from one style to another as his context requires; and he has that elusive ability to convey a sense of movement within the two-dimensional confines of an unmoving, fixed surface.

Tenniel's contribution to the art of the political cartoon was officially recognised in 1893, when Gladstone conferred on him a knighthood. Only a year before, Tenniel's fellow-

cartoonist, Linley Sambourne, had written of their profession that

> we are perforce accustomed to an unrecognised position, and are not officially placed even on the same level as line engravers. John Leech himself felt the cold shoulder of Academical neglect, which makes no signs of abating, and which will, in all probability at least, last the nineteenth century out.[430]

There is much truth in this, for Tenniel's status as a painter was only partially recognised, despite the respect in which he was held by the art establishment. He never became an RA, nor even ARA, but the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolour did acknowledge his contribution to that particular field by awarding him full membership in 1874.

On the other hand, Tenniel's knighthood proved Sambourne wrong and, apart from the honour done to the artist himself, this was a great step forward for the status of the political cartoon. The cartoons' association with Punch meant that at the time of their first appearance they were seen to be somewhat ephemeral; however, as Sambourne himself argues, far more people will look at a political cartoon than read a leading article in a newspaper, and the visual image, far more than the written word, will tend to have an immediate and lasting impact: 'as in the case of a pebble thrown amidst living waters, it cannot be calculated where its radiations cease.'[431]

These words of Sambourne's have been prophetic, for many of Tenniel's cartoons are still influential. His political iconography has lived on in the work of his cartoonist successors, so that MPs are still transformed into impish

schoolchildren and stern teachers; warring politicians of various parties still appear as gladiators in the arena; and rejected leaders such as Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev are still 'dropped' in the style of the German Chancellor Bismarck in Tenniel's 'Dropping the Pilot' of March 1890. The cartoons themselves have also been used as important primary source material by interpreters of the nineteenth century, so that they can be found as illustrations in educational material, history books, and television documentaries - although it is often the case that, while Punch is often acknowledged as the source, the artist's name is rarely mentioned. One result of this lack of acknowledgement is that Tenniel continues to be associated in most minds solely with the Alice illustrations, so that it comes as a surprise to many to discover that the man who drew the Cheshire Cat and the Ugly Duchess was also the portrayer and satirist of William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli.

To conclude, then, it seems fitting that Linley Sambourne, Tenniel's successor as Punch's political cartoonist, should have the final word:

> Tenniel, like all strongly original men, created a style of his own in which he stands alone, and of which, although often plagiarised and imitated, he remains the master.[432]

NOTES TO PART VI

Introduction

390. Morris, note 86 to Ch. II. See also Silver, Diary, 1 April 1863: 'J.T. means to go in for oil painting this year. Hates woodwork. Pity Millais sticks to it - but there there's the filthy lucre.'

The Mirage of Life

391. The Religious Tract Society Reporter, 1 November 1867.

392. Details are taken from A Brief View of the Plan and Operations of the Religious Tract Society Instituted 1799, [?1820s].

393. The Religious Tract Society Reporter, (1857-75), known before 1857 as The Christian Spectator. At first published bi-monthly, it soon became a regular monthly magazine.

394. Reporter, 2 December 1867.

395. The Mirage of Life, London: Religious Tract Society, 1917.

396. Biographical details are taken from the Memoir in Miller's last book, The Great Rest-Giver, London: Religious Tract Society, 1891, and from Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography, Frank Cass & Co., Vol. II, 1965.

397. They include The Three Questions: What am I? Whence came I? Whither do I go?, 1850, and Life's Pleasure Garden or the Conditions of a Happy Life, [1884]. Another book, The Culture of Pleasure, or, The Enjoyment of Life in its Social and Religious Aspects (2nd ed.), was published by James Nisbet in 1872.

398. Reporter, 1 November 1867.

399. In this capacity Miller wrote two books which combine information about finance and business with moral advice: The Currency Maze: an entertaining sketch of "The Question without an end", London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1877, and On the Bank's Threshold; or, The Young Banker, a popular outline of banking, illustrated by anecdote, London: S.W. Partridge and Co, 1890.

400. Reporter, 2 March 1868.

Samuel Carter Hall

401. See note 21. For comments on Hook, see Hall, I:123, 322; for Haydon, see I:55.

402. Silver, Diary, 4 February 1863 (also see note 119).

403. Hall, I:196, 122, 487, 519, and II:239.

404. For comments on 'Teetotal George', see Hall, II:235; Shirley Brooks was less complimentary about Cruikshank: see Layard, p.397.

405. The latter cartoon was one of Shirley Brooks' suggestions (Layard, p.389).

406. For Hall's tribute to their work, see I:327-31.

407. The other Sir Jasper artists were Mrs E.M. Ward, Alfred Elmore, Thomas Faed, W.C.T. Dobson, F.D. Hardy, H. Anelay, G.H. Boughton, Charles Mercier, P.R. Morris, N. Chevalier, Walter J. Allen, H.R. Robertson, E. Sherard Kennedy, John Morgan and E.M. Wimperis.

408. Sir Jasper, 1874 ed.

409. Advertisement in An Old Story, 1875 ed.

410. Hall, II:432.

411. Hall, II:431-2.

412. It is not known whether Tenniel was a Freemason, but his friend and colleague Shirley Brooks was. Tenniel's only masonic cartoon, 'Work for the New Grand Master' (May 1875), appeared in the year following Brooks' death.

413. The other artists were L.J. Pott, N. Chevalier, Thomas Faed, E. Sherard Kennedy, P.R. Morris, W. Cave Thomas, James Sant, [?] Montbard, Erskine Nicol, R. Lehmann, W. Macduff, Elizabeth Thompson, W.C.T. Dobson, W. Hemsley, F. Pasmore, G.A. Storey, Harrison Weir and W.J. Allen.

414. Hall, II:431-2. Advertised at the back of An Old Story is another temperance book, by Hall's wife, Anna Maria Fielding (1800-1881), known simply as Mrs S.C. Hall. Entitled Boons and Blessings, the Advantages of Temperance, Virtue, Spalding, and Co., and costing six shillings, it contained fifteen stories and sketches, with the same number of full-page engravings by fifteen artists. Tenniel may have been invited to contribute, but nothing of his appears.

Shakespeare

415. Dalziel Record, p.130.

416. 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' (February 1856) contains an early appearance of Mr Punch as Puck.

417. Just as ridiculous is Punch's starring role in 'Hamlet at Billingsgate' (July 1881).

418. For dancing subjects see 'The Political Egg-Dance' (June 1867) [246b], 'His Favourite Part' (December 1871) [261b], 'The "Pas de Deux!"' (August 1878), 'A "Pas de Trois!"' (November 1878), '"Pas de Quatre"' (October 1889), '"Pas de Fascination"' (March 1886), and 'The French "Serpentine Dance;" or, Pas de Panama' (January 1893).

419. See, for example, 'Punch's Book of British Costumes' (1860) for 'The Anglo-Danish Period', 'Revised - and Corrected' (September 1868), 'Hamlet, Prince of Birmingham' (December 1883) and 'The "Leading Tragedian"' (November 1886).

420. For other paired cartoons see 'A Political Parallel' (November 1868) [251b] and 'An "Exit" Speech' (May 1886) [294b], and, in a circus context, 'Mr. Bendizzy's "Rapid Act with a Change"' (Vol. 22, 1852) [229a] and 'Signor Gladstonio - The Cloture King' (April 1882) [285a].

421. Harcourt also appears as a plump Queen Gertrude in '"Her Majesty's Servants"' (February 1892) [302].

422. See also '"Look on this Picture, and - "' (January 1866) which features Britannia and Napoleon. Thiers appears in another title role in 'Coriolanus' (June 1873).

423. See, for example, 'Reappearance of the Popular Favourite' (November 1885) and '"Retire! - What do <u>you</u> think?'" (February 1891) [300a].

424. An early example of the procession of kings appears in Vol. 20, 1851; a much later version is 'Kruger's Vision' (October 1899). See also '"<u>How</u> shall we three meet again"?' (December 1885), '"The Thanes Fly From Me!"' (March 1886), and '"The Sticking Place!"' (March 1887).

425. See also 'The Genu-ine Othello' (November 1861), 'Strict Discipline' (June 1865), 'The Green-Backed Monster' (September 1865), and 'A German Iago' (May 1881).

426. For other <u>Tempest</u> subjects see 'Exit Caliban' (May 1883), 'Crowning the O'Caliban' (December 1883), and 'Don't "Come unto these yellow sands"!' (September 1894).

<u>Conclusion</u>

427. George du Maurier in 'The Illustrating of Books. From the serious artist's point of view', <u>The Magazine of Art</u>, London: Cassell & Company, August 1890, p.351.

428. Quoted in Sarzano, p.29, from John Ruskin, <u>The Art of England</u>.

429. Linley Sambourne in 'Political Cartoons', The Magazine of Art, London: Cassell & Company, 1892, p.44.

430. Sambourne, p.46.

431. Sambourne, p.21.

432. Sambourne, p.43.

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